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I. *Notes on the Documents in the Cathedral Library at Canterbury relating to the Grey Friars.* By Charles Cotton.

A. ORIGINAL DEEDS AND LETTERS

AMONGST the muniments belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and preserved in the Cathedral Library, is a chirograph indenture numbered C.1031, dated 24 June, 1294, and relating to the Friars Minor of Canterbury, whose seal is appended. It is written in a clear thirteenth-century hand on parchment measuring $7^{7}/_{8}''$ by $4^{7}/_{8}''$, including the indentures, and is endorsed :

Obligatio Fratrum minorum Cant' de iij s. redditus debit' nobis de diuersis tenementis. De diuersis in Cant'.

The text of the deed is as follows :

CYROGRAPHUM

Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris quod in festo Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste anno domini M°CC° nonagesimo quarto Regni uero Regis Edwardi vicesimo secundo Ita conuenit inter Priorem et conuentum ecclesie Christi Cantuar' ex parte vna et Gardianum et Conuentum fratrum minorum Cantuar' ex altera videlicet quod cum diuersa tenementa continerentur infra ambitum ipsorum fratrum de feodo predictorum Prioris et Conuentus in Cantuar', videlicet tenementum quod quondam fuit Samuelis tinctoris pro quo debebantur eis annuatim vij*d.* quadrans. Item pro tenemento quondam Berenger' in Wytht xij*d.* Item pro tenemento eiusdem in Ottemed v*d.* Item pro tenemento quondam Serone de Boctone vj*d.* Item pro Redditu Wyberti quondam Prioris ecclesie Christi predicte iuxta Ottowell' xij*d.* Item pro tenemento Stephani filii Lewini Samuel' xviii*d.* Prefati Prior et Conuentus remiserunt et quietum clam[auerunt] in perpetuum predictis fratribus et eorum successoribus omnia arreragia sibi debita de tenementis predictis intuitu caritatis. Ita videlicet quod iidem fratres et eorum successores de cetero per suos procuratores fideliter solui facient annuatim predictis Priori et Conuentui in Thesauraria sua tres solidos annui redditus pro omnibus tenementis predictis, videlicet medietatem ad pascha et aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis pro omnibus serviciis et secularibus demandis ad predictos Priorem et Conuentum de eisdem tenementis spectantibus.

Et si contingat prefatos procuratores post viginti dies postquam super hoc premuniti fuerint in solucione predicti annui redditus deficere, bene licebit predictis Priori et Conuentui et eorum ministris distringere omnia tenementa predicta pro arreragiis que a retro fuerint de annuo redditu supradicto. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum ecclesie Christi predicte et sigillum commune fratrum predictorum huic scripto cyrographato alternatim sunt appensa. Acta sunt hec apud Cantuariam die et anno supradictis.

The seal attached to this deed is a very beautiful impression and in wonderful condition, especially considering that it was affixed six-and-a-quarter centuries ago. It is of brown wax, an elongated oval in shape, $1^{9}/_{16}''$ long by $1''$ in breadth. It bears a representation of the martyrdom of S. Thomas Becket in the centre: the saint is kneeling before a vested altar, with the hands upraised, and is facing three of the knights (Hugh de Moreville is absent), who with shields and raised swords are beating down the Archbishop. There is a figure of Edward Grim, the Saxon monk, with the cross uplifted standing on the far side of the altar, but, as a matter of fact, the Archbishop's crossbearer was Alexander Llewellyn, a Welshman, who had left him two days before on a mission to France; and the acting-crossbearer on the occasion of the murder was Henry of Auxerre, one of Becket's clerks: he doubtless fled with the rest of the monks from the scene, leaving the three mentioned by Dean Stanley—Robert, Canon of Merton, William Fitzstephen, his chaplain, and Edward Grim. This last-named, in many mediæval representations of the murder, is depicted holding the cross, as in the present instance.[1]

The apex of the seal is filled with tabernacle work, and at the bottom, under a pointed arch, is seen the tonsured head of a friar (S. Francis ?) with his friar's hood falling over his shoulders. Around is this legend:

S : FRATRVM : MINORVM : CANTVARIE

[1] The position of the cross in this seal suggests that the artist may have reconciled the tradition preserved in the *Thomas Saga* (i, 541) that Grim " bore the cross " with the statement in a contemporary letter that Thomas had the cross in his hands when done to death (*Materials*, vii, 431).

From the above agreement it will be observed that within the ambit of the Friars were certain tenements which belonged to the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, and for which rents were paid, namely, for that formerly held by Samuel the Dyer, $7\frac{1}{4}d.$; that formerly held by Berenger in Wytht, $12d.$; for that held by the same in Ottemed, $5d.$; for that formerly held by Serona of Boughton, $6d.$; for the rent of Wibert,[1] formerly Prior of Christ Church, near Ottewell, $12d.$; and for the tenement of Stephen, son of Lewin Samuel, $18d.$; a total of $5s.$ $0\frac{1}{4}d.$, and there were evidently arrears owing. The Prior and Convent agreed to remit all the arrears due to them, regarding it as a charity: on condition that the Friars' proctors[2] paid into their treasury a yearly rent of 3s. in lieu of their accustomed rents and services.[3]

2. Amongst the series of Christ Church Letters in manuscript, and inscribed "Correspondence of Prior Henry of Eastry" [1285-1322], is a letter without endorsement or date, addressed to the Prior, advising him not to confirm the grant of land to the Franciscans, who, supported by Edmund, the King's brother, are about to build a house in Lambeth; as in course of time such a settlement might be prejudicial to the interests of the Churches of Canterbury and Rochester.

The letter is written on a strip of parchment $7\frac{1}{2}''$ by $2\frac{1}{4}''$: it occupies eleven close lines of very small script, and has been injured by damp. The Press Mark is: MSS. Ch. Ch. Letters II, 67. The date must fall between 1285 (Eastry's accession) and 1296 (Edmund's death), perhaps during the vacancy after Peccham's death (Dec. 8, 1292).

3. Another document amongst the archives of the Dean and Chapter—F. 152—is a covenant dated 8 June, 1312, between Henry de Chibalton, Warden, and the

[1] Wibert was Prior from 1151 to 1167.

[2] On the proctors of the Friars Minor see *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, vii, 55–65, 549–551.

[3] A letter from the Prior and Convent to Queen Isabella (1343?) on the failure of the Friars to pay their rent is printed in *Litteræ Cantuarienses*, ii, p. 263.

Convent of Friars Minor, Canterbury, and the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, concerning the burial of Sir William de Balliol, Knight, in a suitable place within the ambit of the Friars. The text is as follows :

Uniuersis ad quos presentes littere peruenerint fratres Henricus de Chibalton Gardianus et Conuentus ordinis minorum Cantuar' salutem in Domino. Cum bone memorie dominus Willelmus de Balliolo miles nuper defunctus in ultima voluntate sua elegisset in ecclesia Christi Cantuar' sui corporis sepulturam ac venerabiles et Religiosi viri Domini . . Prior et Capitulum ecclesie Christi predicte ob deuocionem scinceram quam erga ordinem et fratres nostri ordinis ab olim habebant et habent nobis concesserint de sua gratia speciali quod corpus predicti militis defuncti infra ambitum nostrum in loco competenti valeat sepeliri Nos tenore presencium fatemur expresse quod non intendimus nec volumus quod huiusmodi gratia specialis liberaliter nobis facta eisdem . . priori et capitulo nec ecclesie sue predicte cedat in aliquod preiudicium nec in casu consimili trahatur in consequenciam in futurum. In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus duximus apponendum. Dat' Cantuarie in Capitulo nostro vj^to^ Idus Junii anno Domini millesimo ccc^mo^ xij°.

The deed is endorsed :

Caucio fratrum minorum Cant' de sepultura Domini Willelmi de Balliolo militis.

The seal (in red wax) attached to the deed is the same as that attached to the indenture of 1294: the upper part has been broken and is missing ; but the remains of the inscription can be deciphered: it runs

[S : FRAT]RVM : MIN[OR]VM CAN[TVARIE].

4. Amongst the collection of MSS. known as *Christ Church Letters* are four relating to the office of Lector or Reader in Theology. The office was first instituted in 1275, and the monks of their own free will admitted a Friar Minor, William de Everal, to fill it.[1] Another Christ Church Register, now in the Cambridge University Library (MS. Ee. V. 31), contains a series of letters addressed annually by the Prior and Convent to the Provincial Minister and Chapter of the Friars Minor

[1] Gervase of Canterbury, Contin. (R.S.), ii, p. 281.

between 1285 and 1298, asking for the appointment or reappointment of Friar Ralph, of Wydeheye or Wodehay, as their lector.[1] The practice was continued until 1314, when the monks wrote to the Provincial Chapter that they no longer required the services of their Franciscan lector, Robert of Fulham, as his pupils were now competent to fill his place.[2]

The first of the four letters here printed is in answer to one of the letters of the Prior and Convent asking for the reappointment of Ralph of Wodehaye. It is written by "W., Provincial Minister," *i.e.*, William of Gainsborough, who was elected Provincial in 1285, probably at the Provincial Chapter at Cambridge, and ceased to hold office in 1292. The letter is dated "Nottingham on the Saturday after the Assumption of the glorious Virgin." The feast of the Assumption was the date on which the Provincial Chapter was usually held, and it is certainly to this assembly that the phrase "in hac nostra congregatione" refers. The document is, therefore, a record of a Provincial Chapter, and as such is a great rarity. It is an original, and not a copy; it measures $2^{5}/_{8}''$ by $7^{1}/_{8}''$, and shows no signs of sealing. The year is probably 1286. Provincial Chapters were held in 1285 at Cambridge, 1287 London, 1288 Lincoln, 1289 Oxford, and 1292 Cambridge.[3] The place of the Chapter in 1286, 1290, and 1291 is at present unknown. The earliest of these dates is the most probable for this letter, because the reappointment of Friar Ralph would have become more of a matter of course by 1290.[4] The letter exhibits a most exaggerated form of "Friars' Rhetoric" in the art of letter-writing. Whether the style is due to the eloquence of William of Gainsborough or the traditions of the Provincial Minister's office is

[1] A Ralph de Wydeheye was ordained acolyte in the parish church of Bridge, near Canterbury, in 1287, but he was certainly not our friar. Peckham's *Reg.*, p. 1046.

[2] Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 66. [3] *Collectanea Franc. I*, 145.

[4] *P.R.O. Anc. Correspondence*, xxix, 98: an order to pay 16*l.* "ad pascend' fratres generalis capituli fratrum minorum in congregacione sua apud Notingh'" (no date or address) may refer to the Chapter of 1286.

uncertain. The second letter is less formal: it relates to the same subject, and though not dated is evidently later.

The third letter was addressed by Archbishop Winchelsea to the Prior and Convent on 20 October, 1295. The Archbishop exempts Brother Martin of Clive[1] from certain conventual duties on account of his weakness and old age, in consideration of his prolonged labours, first as regent master in arts and ever since then as student of theology at Christ Church. It suggests that Friar Ralph's pupils were not confined to the younger monks.

The fourth letter, from Archbishop Walter Reynolds, is dated 27 April, 1321—nearly seven years after the Franciscans had ceased to supply lecturers to Christ Church. In it the Archbishop states that he has found in a recent visitation that the monks have provided no suitable study for their reader, who has hitherto studied in the Infirmary Hall, and orders that one of the eighteen studies (*diversoria*),[2] lately made in a place suitable for students, be assigned to the reader, and the Infirmary Hall be freed from "strepitu populari." It is evident that the Franciscan lecturers had had no proper study in the monastery; but they may have resided at the Grey Friars, though this seems unlikely in view of letter (ii.) below.

(i.) [Ch. Ch. Letters: Eastry Portfolio III, No. 48.]

Venerande religionis et eximie sanctitatis viro clarissimo specialissimo patri suo Domino . . Priori Ecclesie Christi Frater W. Fratrum minorum in Anglia minister indignus, suorum promptissimus devotorum cum humilis famulatus promptitudine in eo quem virginis ubera[3] lactauerunt feliciter prosperari. Quamquam dilecto Fratri Rad' de Wodehay caream difficulter, et ipsius prudencia pro aliis occupacionibus plurimum indigerem, deuictus tamen speciali quam ad vos gero sincera affectione, vestre instancie cui teneor pro viribus complacere ipsum ad presens amicabili condescensione remitto; optans et supplicans altissimo plexis genibus cordis mei,

[1] He died in 1301 and owned many books, chiefly theological. See James's *Library of Ch. Ch. Canterbury*, Nos. 1586–1613.

[2] Cf. *Reg K.*, fol. 220r. (A.D. 1317). Pro novis studiis faciendis 32 *li.* 9*s.* 7*d.*

[3] Ubera. Written above.

ut labor ipsius in vestrorum studiosissimorum filiorum medullis et cordibus diuine lucis radio insplendente vberes salutaris ffructus manipulos operetur. Verum quia humaniora subsidia etiam vocalibus gratiarum actionibus non sufficio compensare, ne tamen ipsa videatur ingrata oblivio sepelisse que memorie finibus inamissibiliter imprimuntur, ad retribucionem suppremum [*sic*] stillat oculus mentis pariter et affectus, ut tante dignacionis vicissitudinem recompensent. Hec ad presens vestre paternitati serene breuiter commemorasse sufficiat, eo quod in proximo spero vobiscum diffusius viue vocis oraculo pertractare. Diu floreat vestra dignatio reuerenda, cui me et michi commissos humiliter recommendo quemadmodum vos et vestros in hac nostra congregatione habui affectuosissime commendatos. Scripta Nothingham sabato post assumptionem Virginis gloriose.

[Endorsed] Domino Priori Eccl' xpi Cantuar'.

(ii.) [Ch. Ch. Letters : Eastry Portfolio IV, No. 44.]

Venerabili patri in Christo ac domino . . Priori Sancte Trinitatis Cantuarie Frater W. Fratrum minorum in Anglia minister et seruus indignus cum omni reuerencia humilis obsequii Famulatum. Obligatus vobis tam pro me quam mihi commissis Fratribus ad totum id quod valeo, non audeo neque debeo vestris peticionibus resistere, qui paratus sum imperpetuum vestris beneplacitis obseruire, volo igitur ut dilectus in Christo Frater Radulphus, pro quo vestra reuerencia supplicauit vobis, cum remaneat, et votis vestris pareat sicut prius et obediat sicut mihi in Domino. Valeat vestra sanctitas in Christo et in Virgine sua matre.

[Endorsed] Reuerendo Patri in Christo domino Priori Sancte Trinitatis Cantuar'.

(iii.) [Ch. Ch. Letters, R. IV, 13.]

Robertus permissione Diuina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Anglie primas dilectis filiis . . Priori et Capitulo ecclesie nostre Cant' salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Considerantes labores diutinos emerite milicie quos frater Martinus de Clyue decursis temporibus tam in arte dialectica dudum egregie regendo, quam postmodum in sacra pagina inter vos continue studendo sustinuit, compacientesque imbecillitati ipsius quam iam peperit in eo tediosa senectus, ipsum ab onere communi et consueto celebrandi missas ac etiam in choro refectorio cantandi et legendi et fratribus de coquina seruiendi, vestro concurrente assensu absoluimus de gracia speciali : nolentes tamen quod per ea que circa prefatum fratrem in hac parte graciosa acta sunt, consuetudini ecclesie nostre antique

et approbate in aliqua derogetur. Salua tamen in hiis et similibus nostra et successorum nostrorum debita potestate, inhibemus insuper ne hec graciosa concessio in exemplum sine nostra permissione trahatur seu ad consequenciam aliqualiter in futurum. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras patentes vobis concedimus sigilli nostri munimine roboratas. Dat' apud Aldington XIII° Kal' Novembre Anno Domini M°CC^mo^ nonagesimo quinto Consecracionis nostre secundo.

(iv.) [Ch. Ch. Letters: Letters of Archbishop Walter Reynolds, C. 1294.]

Walterus permissione Diuina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Anglie Primas, Dilecto filio Domino . . Priori Ecclesie Christi Cant' salutem graciam et benedictionem. Cum nuper ex certis causis in visitacione nostra in ecclesia nostra predicta exercita compertis ordinauerimus quod . . Lectori vestro in sacra pagina locus competens ad studendum extra Infirmitorium vestrum prouideretur quam citius temporis oportunitas se offerret, ac intellexerimus quod vos octodecim noua diuersoria in loco studentibus oportuno fecistis parari: Volumus et mandamus quod prefato . . Lectori vestro locus competens ad studendum in hiis nouis diuersoriis assignetur, quodque locus Infirmitorii, ubi dictus Lector hactenus studere solebat, reseruetur operaliter prout assolet usibus Infirmorum, ut debiles et infirmi absque strepitu populari secrecius conquiescant. In Christo feliciter valeatis. Dat' apud Cherrynge V kal. Maii anno Domini millesimo ccc^mo^ vicesimo primo.

B. REGISTERS

5. Register I, fol. 184^v^, contains a copy of the Bull of Boniface VIII, "Super Cathedram," dated "Laterani XII Kal. Marcii P. n. a. Sexto" [18 Feb., 1300], under the title "De predicatoribus et confessionibus audiendis Fratrum Predicatorum et Minorum." The Bull has often been printed (*e.g.*, *Bullar. Franc.*, iv, 498, *Corpus Juris Canonici* Clem. lib. iii, tit. VII, de sepulturis c. 2).

6. Register N, fol. 172, contains a list of 55 priests living in Canterbury and licensed to hear confessions, in 1520 (the jubilee of St. Thomas). Amongst them occur the names of five Dominicans and the following two Franciscans: Frater W. Knyght, gardianus fratrum minorum; Frater T. Cok, ordinis fratrum minorum

confessor deputat'. (All the 55 names are given, and the Churches or Orders to which they belonged, as well as their University degrees.)

7. Register O contains a few notes on the Friars Minor.[1] The Register is one of two small thick parchment volumes which at one time seem to have formed a single register but were bound as two during the first half of the 18th century. With a few exceptions the entries were all made at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th centuries in the days of Prior Henry of Eastry (1285-1322). The following memoranda relating to the Friars were inserted in blank spaces in the 15th century :

(*a*) *fol.* 404^{r}. A quotation from W. of Malmesbury . . . with the reference : Malmysburiensis in fine primi libri sui, qui liber est in conventu Fratrum Minorum Cantuar' qui intitulatur sic: Notabilia super ecclesiasticam historiam et tripartitum cum extractionibus Willelmi Malmesbyry', et habens in dorso super ligamento tales figuras P.i.h.

(*b*) *fol.* 407^{v}. Anno dominice incarnacionis millesimo cc° vicesimo quarto intraverunt fratres minorum in Angliam et benigne a rege Henrico sunt suscepti et Cantuar' collocati fuerunt in Wyht : et London' apud Cornhelle.

(*c*) *ibid.* Anno dominice incarnacionis millesimo cc°lxvij Johannes Dygge emit insulam vocatam Bynnewyht in Cantuaria et locum porte super Stour strete ad opus Fratrum Minorum et tempore oportuno transtulit fratres in illam.[2]

(*d*) *ibid.* Anno dominice incarnationis millesimo cc°xxvj° beatus pater Franciscus Christi Jesu signaculis insignitus presens exillium exiens celesti consorcio sociatur et sic fratres minorum Angliam intraverunt per biennium ante mortem beati Francisci.

8. Register Q, fol. xiii^{r}, mentions amongst those present at Mortlake at the death of Archbishop Peccham, in December 1292, John de Beverle, guardian, and John de Ravenestone, both " de ordine minorum."

[1] Cf. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.*, IX, i, 108.

[2] This is evidently the source of Leland's notes in *Collectanea*, vol. iv, p. 117 (ed. Hearne). He, however, reads " A.D. 1269 et anno sequenti " (for 1267), and " Stonestrete " (for Stourstrete). Stourstrete is close to the Franciscan Convent : Stone Street is the Roman road leading from Wincheape to Lympne.

II. *The Gospel Harmony of John de Caulibus, or S. Bonaventura.* By Margaret Deanesly.

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages gospel harmonies, both in Latin and the vernacular languages, were widely used, as well by the learned as the devout.[1] Such works as Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*,[2] in its section dealing with the gospels, and the *Monotessaron* or *Unum ex Quattuor* of Zachary Chrysopolitanus[3] and Clement of Llanthony[4] respectively, were to be found in nearly all mediæval libraries of any size. These were, however, intended for literary study: the gospel harmony most used for devotional purposes was the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi*, for long attributed to S. Bonaventura. This work was written originally for a Poor Clare, to whom the author speaks in the preface of "sancta Clara, ducissa et mater tua,"[5] and it was translated into various European languages. Its chief historical interest lies in the fact that translations of it would seem to have been considered safer reading for the devout laity than translations of the "naked text" of the gospels, and that it was so widely used for this purpose. When much discussion had been aroused, about 1400, over the question whether vernacular translations of the Bible were lawful or profitable for lay people, most orthodox teachers, as, for instance, Gerson,[6] decided that

[1] See *The Northern Passion* (Foster, F. A.), ii, 59 (E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser. 147); *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vigouroux, F.), 1912, ii, 2113.

[2] *Pat. Lat.* 198, col. 1050. [3] *Pat. Lat.* 186.

[4] Unedited.

[5] *S. Bonaventura Opera*, Mainz, 1609, vi, 334 (ed. Peltier, Paris, xii, 10). S. Clare was canonized in 1255.

[6] "Rursus sequitur ex præmissis prohibendam esse vulgarem translationem librorum sacrorum nostræ Bibliæ, præsertim extra moralitates et historias," *Opera*, Antwerp, 1706, i, 106. "Scriptura sacra dum per novellos homines inducitur, tamquam credenda sit in suis nudis terminis absque alterius interpretis vel expositoris admissione, exponitur gravibus periculis et scandalis. . . . Ex hac præterea radice pestifera orta sunt et quotidie crescunt errores Begardorum et pauperum de Lugduno et omnium similium, quorum multi sunt laici habentes in suo vulgari translationem Bibliæ, in grande præjudicium et scandalum catholicæ veritatis, quale propositum est in reformatorio esse tollendum," *id.*, i, 459.

they were too dangerous, but that lay people should be encouraged to read sermons, homilies, gospel harmonies, etc., instead. So well known were these *Meditationes* in England that after Arundel and the Oxford synod prohibited in 1408 the making, reading, or possession (without episcopal licence) of any biblical translation made in the days of the late master John Wycliffe, or since,[1] a Yorkshire Carthusian, Nicholas Love, prior of Mount Grace, set to work to translate the *Meditationes* into English for the use of lay people, " to the confutation of all false Lollards and heretics." In 1410 he travelled with his work to London, and submitted it for Arundel's approbation, which was given with a general commendation, and the Latin note embodying this licence is to be found in nearly all of the frequent manuscripts of Love's work.[2] In France, again, the work was so popular that it was translated by Jean Gallopes and a copy presented to Henry V and the Duke of Exeter.[3] In Spain, about the same time, another vernacular gospel

[1] Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii, 317.

[2] Trin. Camb. MS. 352, f. 5: " Memorandum quod circa a.d. millesimum quadringentesimum decimum originalis copia huius libri s. Speculum vite christi in anglicis presentabatur London per compilatorem eiusdem Reuerendissimo in Chr. patri et dom. dom. Thome Arundell, Cantuar. Archiep., ad inspiciendum et debite examinandum, antequam fuerat libere communicata. Qui post inspeccionem eiusdem per dies aliquot, retradens ipsum librum memorato auctori eiusdem libri, proprie vocis oraculo ipsum in singulis commendauit et approbauit, necnon in auctoritate sua metropolitica vtpote catholicum publice communicandum fore decreuit et mandauit, ad fidelium edificationem et hereticorum siue Lollardorum falsorum confutacionem "; as in C.C.C. Camb. 142, etc.

[3] C.C.C. Camb. MS. 213, *incipit*: " A tres hault, tres fort, et tres victorieux prince Henri quint de ce nom, par la grace de dieu roy d'Angleterre heritier et regent de France et duc d'Irlande, votre humble chapelain Jehan Galopes, dit le Galoys, doyen de l'eglise collegial Mons. Saint Louys de la Saulsoye en diocese d'Evreux, en votre duchie de Normandie et en la terre de la conte de Harecourt appertenant, a tres excellent et puissant prince et mon chier monseigneur le duc d'Excestre vostre beaux oncle, honeur, obedience, et subjection." The book, which is a complete translation, ends " Ci fine le livre dore de la vie de J.-C. compose par Sire Bonneavanture."

harmony was published for popular reading—that of the Franciscan bishop, Francis Ximenes.[1]

The authorship of these widely-read *Meditationes* is of interest. The Vatican 1609 edition of S. Bonaventura's works printed it as S. Bonaventura's, in accordance with the ascription in many manuscripts;[2] the Quaracchi editors of 1908 condemned it as spurious. They attributed it with some reserve to friar John de Caulibus,[3] of whom Bartholomew of Pisa wrote in his work *De Conformitate vitæ beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Jesu Redemptoris nostri*:

> Tractatum meditationis super evangelia fecit frater Joannes de Caulibus de sancto Geminiano . . . Custodia Senensis habet . . . locum de Sancto Geminiano de quo exstitit oriundus frater Joannes de Caulibus, magnus prædicator et devotus, qui meditationes super Evangelia fecit pulchras. . . .[4]

The difficulty connected with this attribution is the lateness of the date to which Wadding assigns John de Caulibus of S. Gemignano, and in which he has been followed by modern reference books. Wadding, using Bartholomew of Pisa presumably as his only source, says of John de Caulibus in the year 1376,[5]

> Frater Johannes de Caulibus de sancto Geminiano eiusdem provinciæ (Tuscany), et custodiæ (Siena), qui pias meditationes super quatuor evangelia composuit.

Either this date is guesswork or else John de Caulibus did not write these particular *Meditationes*, for they were translated in England long before that date into both verse and prose: nearer, in fact, to the date of the death of

[1] See *Dictionnaire* (Vigouroux), ii, 2392. Francis Ximenes, titular Patriarch of Jerusalem, died in 1409.

[2] Ed. 1609, vi, 334–401. [3] Ed. Quaracchi, x, 25.

[4] *Analecta Franciscana*, iv, 341, 518.

[5] Elsewhere he confuses Bartholomew's information, saying that de Caulibus was a professor of theology of Milan (*Scriptores*, 136); for this confusion *see* Sbaralea (*Supplementum*, 1806, 405). Wadding's date, 1376, is given to de Caulibus in Chevalier's *Bio-Biographie* and other reference books; it may be merely Wadding's inference from the date 1385, when Bartholomew of Pisa wrote his work.

S. Bonaventura in 1274. The frequence of these English translations should help to determine the real date of the work, and show also that Arundel's commendation of Love's translation in 1410 was no new departure. He was merely commending a fresh translation of the work which had for nearly a hundred years in England been considered the best book for instructing devout lay people in the events of the gospels.

The Latin manuscripts of the *Meditationes* in the larger English collections are frequent,[1] both in whole and part. Of those known to the writer, twenty-two contain the whole text or with only small omissions,[2] ten contain the *Passion* only, from the institution of the Lord's Supper,[3]

[1] No search has been made for those in private collections or cathedral libraries, nor has an exhaustive search been made in the collections consulted. There is, of course, no critical edition of the *Meditationes*, as the Quaracchi editors did not print it; and critical comparison of the English MSS. (of the Latin *Meditationes*) alone would have little value for determining date or authorship.

[2] These have usually the *incipit* of the prologue (1609 ed., vi, 334), "Inter alia virtutum et laudum præconia"; or of the text (*id.*, vi, 335), "Cum per longissima tempora." The *explicit* (*id.*, vi, 401) is, with less regularity, "Ergo iteratio utriusque decorem substantiæ designauit. Hæc Bernardus," and doxology. The MSS., roughly in chronological order, are: fourteenth century, Univ. Coll. Oxford, 18; Rawl. c. 287; Bodl. 162; Rawl. A. 398; Harl. 4725; Harl. 1801; fifteenth century, Royal 7 A. I; 7 D. xvii; Bodl. 529; Camb. Univ. Kk. 4, 23, Hh. 3, 13, Ff. 5, 36, Ff. 3, 8; Harl. 3174; Laud Misc. 257; Laud Misc. 496; Caius 332; Emmanuel 241; St. John's Camb. 83; Camb. Univ. Dd. 10, 15; C.C.C. Camb. 256; sixteenth century, Camb. Univ. Dd. 10, 63. All the MSS. attribute the work to S. Bonaventura, and Rawl. A. 398, Ff. 5, 36, and Dd. 10, 15 term it the "liber aureus de vita Christi per dominum Bonaventuram compositus," instead of the more usual "Meditationes vitæ Christi Bonauenturæ Cardinalis." (Both titles are given in Royal 7 A. I, *c.* 1400.) None of the MSS. appears to be earlier than *c.* 1350.

[3] These all have the *incipit*, "Aduenientе iam et imminente tempore" (1609 ed., vi, 382), and go down to the meditation for Saturday, the descent of Christ into Hell, where He is greeted by the O. Test. saints singing the *Benedictus*: the *explicit* (*id.*, vi, 392) is that of the end of the *Benedictus*: "fecit redemptionem plebis suæ." A MS. of this section appears earlier than any of those of the whole *Meditationes* (Trin. Camb. 293), and the earliest English translation (*see* p. 14) was made before 1350, and of exactly this section of the *Meditationes*. The MSS. include

and three are fragments.[1] The section on the *Passion* seems to have been almost regarded as a separate work, and is found thus separate in the earliest manuscripts, particularly in one dated by Dr. M. R. James as early fourteenth century.[2] This section was certainly the first to be translated, and, till Nicholas Love's translation, was found translated more frequently than either the whole or any other part of the *Meditationes*.

The first English translation is in verse, and was for some time attributed to Robert of Bourne, the translator of the *Handlyng Synne*. Dialectal reasons are, however, against a common authorship, as is the fact that the sources of Robert's other translations were in Anglo-French (the *Manuel des Pechiez* and the Chronicle of Langtoft), while the *Meditationes* were, of course, in Latin. But the poem follows the *Handlyng Synne* in each of the two complete and primary manuscripts, and from its language may be assigned to the same date—between 1300 and 1330.[3] Works of popular instruction were, about 1300, nearly always written in verse, as aids to memorization, and, like the contemporary and popular "romances," were much more widely known through this means than through actual use of the manuscripts.

Trin. Camb. 293 (see *infra* n. 2); Camb. Univ. Mm. 4, 41; and Harl. 102, fourteenth century; and Bodl. 797; Emmanuel 243; Camb. Univ. Ff. 4, 46; Gg. 4, 11; St. John's Oxford 147; Univ. Coll. Oxford 60; Trin. Oxford 89, fifteenth century. All attribute the work to S. Bonaventura.

[1] End of fourteenth century, Ashmole 751, Cleop. B. 1; fifteenth century, Trin. Camb. 17 (the long section of the *Meditationes* dealing with contemplation). All attribute the work to S. Bonaventura.

[2] Trin. Camb. 293, f. 1: "Inc. meditaciones quas scripsit cardinalis Bonaventura de passione domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Adueniente iam et imminente . . ." f. 17: "Expl. medit. quas scripsit Card. Bonaventura de passione J. C." It is followed by the *Stimulus Amoris*, a work often ascribed to S. Bonaventura, but written by a Franciscan Jacobus, lector at Milan, towards the end of the thirteenth century, and revised, perhaps, by Henri de Beaume in the fourteenth century. The version in this MS. appears to have more affinities to the revised than to the original version, and may represent an intermediate state.

[3] The three MSS. (*see* p. 15, n. 2) attribute the original to Bonaventura.

This verse translation is a parallel with that of Robert of Greatham, who turned the Sunday gospels and homilies into Anglo-French rhyme about 1300, and with that of the unknown north-countryman who turned them into rhyming English. The work begins and ends at the same place as the frequent Latin excerpt on the *Passion*, which would seem to show that the translator used one of these *Passion* manuscripts, and not a complete one of the whole *Meditationes*. The translation is fairly close, as, for instance, at the beginning :

Cap. lxxiii. *De cœna Domini.*[1] Adueniente iam et imminente tempore miserationum et misericordiarum Domini Jesu, quo disposuerat salvam facere plebem suam, et eam redimere, non corruptibili auro et argento sed pretiosissimo sanguine suo : voluit cœnam facere cum discipulis suis notabilem . . . Circa ipsam igitur quatuor principaliter, quæ ibi notabiliter facta fuerunt meditanda occurrunt. Primo ipsa corporalis cœnatio. Secundo pedum discipulorum per Dominum Jesu ablutio. Tertio sacramenti sui sanctissimi corporis institutio. Et quarta pulcherrimi sermonis per ipsum compositio.

NOW OF ÞE SOPER OF OURE LORDE IHESU.[2]

Comyng þe tyme of grete mercy,
Whan God sent Hys sone down fro hy,
Of a mayden he wulde be bore
To save mankynde þat was forlore.
But noþer wt corupt sylver ne golde ;
But wyþ hys blode by vs he wulde.
Whan tyme was come to suffre þys
A soper he made to hys dycyplys. . . .
Foure þynges þou must haue in þy þo3t.
þat yn þys soper Cryst haþ wro3t :
þe fyrst ys a bodly fedyng,
þe secunde ys hys dycyples' fete wasshyng,
þe þred yn brede hym self takyng,
þe fourþe a sermoun of feyre makyng.

[1] 1609 ed., vi, 382.

[2] *Meditacyuns of þe soper of our Lorde Ihesu. And also of hys passyun*, ed. Cowper, J. Meadows. E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser. 60 ; from Harl. 1701. Bodl. 415, Addit. 36983.

The translation ends with the descent of Christ to Hell, and does not deal with the resurrection.

Cap. lxxxv. *Meditatio domini Jesu, die Sabbato descendentis ad infernum.*[1] . . . Cum ergo presenserunt eius saluberrimum adventum, occurrerunt ei gaudenter, seipsos exhortantes, atque dicentes, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui visitauit, etc.*

ÞE MEDYTACYUN HOW CRYST ȝEDE TO HELLE[2]

Of hys grete godeness gyn we hym grete,
Seyyng þe wurde of Sakarye þe holy prophete :
" Lorde god of Israel, blessed mote þou be. . . ."
To þat pes pereles we prey þou vs bryng,
þat leuyst and reynest w^t^ oute endyng. Amen.

The next translation of the *Meditationes* on the *Passion* (known from a colophon as the *Privity of the Passion*)[3] may, from its northern dialect and style of translation, be a work of Richard Rolle, who died in 1349 ; it may, however, be merely the work of some follower.[4] It begins at the usual place, but goes farther than the earlier verse translation, taking in some of the resurrection appearances.[5] This rather beautiful prose translation makes no attempt to follow the Latin closely.

Another distinct and rather more terse prose translation of the *Passion*, this time in the southern dialect, was made before the end of the fourteenth century, and occurs

[1] 1609 ed., vi, 392. [2] *Meditacyuns*, 36, 37.

[3] *Privity* is the translation of the *mysteria* (passionis), a phrase occurring at the beginning of the translated portion of the *Meditationes* in the Thornton MS., in which the colophon occurs : *see* 1609 ed., vi, 384. Horstmann printed the *Privity* from this MS. of *c.* 1430–1440 (*see* i, 198) ; but the *Privity* also occurs in Trin. Camb. 223, a MS. written *c.* 1400, from which the passage here printed is given. In this earlier MS. the piece begins at the traditional *incipit* of the passion, *Aduenient iam et imminente* ; the Thornton MS. omits the description of the Last Supper, and begins at the description of the passion proper.

[4] The work is ascribed to Bonaventura in each MS., the translator's name being omitted, as was usual in the fourteenth century. The work is followed in Trin. Camb. 223 by many northern lyrics, usually accepted as Rolle's.

[5] Trin. Camb. 223 has the same *explicit* as the Thornton MS. ; *see* Horstmann, i, 218.

in four MSS. known to the writer. Three of these agree exactly,[1] and have small verbal differences from the other, which appears, however, to be the earliest,[2] written between 1389 and *c.* 1400. This one begins :

The tyme commynge and neghynge of þe reuthes and mercyes of the lord, in wiche tyme he ordanede his pepil safe, and also to again bye noȝt wt corruptible golde ne syluer, bot wt hys precious blude ; he wald also make a worthy and noble soper with his discipils, before he wald departe fro þam be deth, in to a memoriall sygne of recorde, and also þat þai schulde fulfill þe mysterys þat was to be fulfilled ; for soth þis soper was ful praysabill, and of grete mystery wer þo thyngis þat crist ihesus dide at thys tyme, etc.

One or two fifteenth-century manuscripts have partial translations of the *Passion* in southern prose, which may be portions of the above-mentioned southern translation, or may be independent fragments.[3] Two other late fourteenth-century manuscripts have an independent translation of another part of the *Meditationes*—the portion dealing with the life of our Lady.[4]

All these translations were certainly earlier than that of Nicholas Love, which was the first to cover, though in an abridged form, the whole ground of the *Meditationes*. It became so popular that it naturally tended to oust the earlier translations, and to render fresh ones unnecessary.

[1] Caius 669 and Laud Misc. 23, having as *incipit* : " The tyme neyȝing and comyng of þe myseracions and mercyes of þe lorde," and Bodl. 789, *incipit* : " þe tyme neiȝyng and comynge to of þe pite and merci of þe lorde." All three were written between 1400 and 1450, and end with the *Benedictus*.

[2] Trin. Camb. 322, f. 328*b*. It is difficult to tell without complete collation whether this text is independent of that of the other three MSS. ; but it covers exactly the same portion of the *Meditationes*, and appears to be merely a variant.

[3] Laud Misc. 174, f. 69. " Meditacioun of þingis doon after þe deeþ of crist. Bonauenture. Ferþermore oure blissid ladye and hir blissid felouship þer togider sittynge under þe cros " (cf. Horstmann, i, 208). This also ends with the *Benedictus*. Egerton 2658 is probably independent : *incipit* : " Our lord Jesus when he was xxx years old he made hise apostles " ; f. 15*b* : " Explicit liber aureus de passione et resurrectione Domini, per dominum Bonaventuram, Cardinalem."

[4] Harl. 1022, Bodl. 938 ; *cf.* 1609 ed., vi, 336.

Manuscripts of it are common,[1] and it was often bequeathed in wills. Nevertheless, at least one other translation of the whole work, also abridged, was made during the course of the fifteenth century—this time with a short Latin summary at the beginning and Latin headings throughout. It begins :

Hic liber uocatur Bonaventura de vita et humanitate ac de conversacione christi. . . . The first tyme þat man was made, Sathanas which was prince of angels : to fore he hadde synneden for his grete pride : he fell oute of þe blisse of heuen, wᵗ grete multitude of othir angels, which weren consentyng to him, in to þe pitte of helle.[2] . . .

The passage at the beginning of the account of the Lord's Supper is translated :

When tyme was come in the whiche our lorde ihesus had disposed of his endeles mercy for to suffre deth for man, ande schede his preciouse blode for oure redempcioun, hit lyked him furst to make a soper wᵗ his disciples, as for a mynde euerlastyng of his grete loue unto hem ande to alle mankynde, and to fulfil the figure of the olde lawe, and be tyme the trowthe of the newe lawe. . . . We schul undirstande that iiii thinges specially be felle at this soper.[3] . . .

Although English manuscripts of the *Meditationes* are thus so frequent, they throw no light on the authorship either of the original Latin or of the different translations. Both Latin and English forms are ascribed without exception to S. Bonaventura. Nothing was known in England of the authorship of friar John de Caulibus, though this circumstance in no way disproves it. The Latin text reached England, judging from the first translation, at least as early as 1300-1330 ; the earliest Latin manuscript also was written in the early fourteenth century. This manuscript[4] belonged to a friar, John Neuton, probably a Franciscan : of the two other notes

[1] There are many besides those mentioned in the preface of Powell's edition ; among others, Trin. Camb. 352 ; C.C.C. Camb. 142 and 143 ; Fitzwilliam 127 ; Rawl. A. 387*b* ; Hunterian 77 at Glasgow.

[2] Trin. Camb. 61, f. 1 ; written *c.* 1450–1500.

[3] *Id.*, ff. 36*b*, 37. This translation ends with the Ascension, f. 94*b* : " Ande after go vp wᵗ him ande to oure kynde heritage of blisse in the glorious cite of heuenly ierusalem," and doxology. [4] Trin. Camb. 293.

of ownership in the manuscripts one is that of the friar James of Parma, who wrote and owned a complete Latin manuscript of the *Meditationes* in 1454.[1] The first translation was, I believe, certainly intended to be read aloud, or recited, as a sermon in church: probably not as the sermon at mass, but at some special preaching in holy week. The translator's prologue begins:

Alle myȝty god yn trynyte
Now and euer wyþ vs be;
For þy sones passyun
Saue alle þys congregacyun;
And graunte vs grace of gode lyuying
To wynne vs blysse wyþouten endyng.
Now euery man, yn hys degre
Sey amen, amen, pur charyte.

This makes it clear that the translation was not made, for instance, for some English nunnery, or Poor Clare, but was meant to be recited to a "congregation" as contemporary romances were recited on some secular occasion. The northern verse gospels and homilies were possibly meant to be similarly recited in church. Certainly Wycliffe repeatedly accused the friars of introducing novelties in their manner of preaching, and, specifically, of preaching in rhyme.[2] The general Franciscan provenance of the *Meditationes* suggests that some Franciscan friar was the author of this earliest verse translation, but the point cannot be pressed further. Of the later translations, apart from the connection of the *Privity* with Richard Rolle or some follower, and the translation of Nicholas Love, there is no evidence for authorship. But of their popularity there can be no doubt.

[1] Harl. 3174. The other owner (of the mid-fifteenth century prose translation in Trin. Camb. 61) was Edward Bochyng, of Canterbury College.

[2] *Lollard Bible* (Deanesly, M.) 148, 149. A good example of a rhymed sermon of the early fourteenth century is the "Sarmun," printed in Heuser's *Kildare-Gedichte* (Bonn, 1904), pp. 89–96. Even in the fifteenth century, when rhyme was less often used for purposes of instruction, Mirk, in his *Festival*, quoted, in one sermon, forty-eight lines of rhyme expressly for repetition by the people; see *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (Wells, J. E.), 1916, p. 303.

III. *Friar Alexander and his Historical Interpretation of the Apocalypse.* By J. P. Gilson.

AMONG the Moore MSS. in Cambridge University Library (Mm. 5, 31) is an Exposition of the historical sense of the Apocalypse of S. John, composed in 1242 by a Friar Alexander, "vir simplex et laicus," illustrated with more than seventy interesting drawings. The MS., the date of which can hardly be many years later, has unfortunately lost a number of leaves in various parts, and those that remain are badly misbound. Both the hand and the drawings seem to me English in character. Specimens will be found in the New Palaeographical Society's publications, Series II, pt. v, and it is not my purpose to deal with them here. Nor am I concerned with the substance of the interpretation itself, to me at least much less interesting, except in so far as it throws light on the personality of the author and his view of the times in which he lived. The important passages for this purpose are mainly in the commentary on chapters xx-xxii, and as so little is known of the author and his work it seems worth while to call attention to these passages. So far as I am aware, there are only two other MSS. of the Exposition, and one of these, which has been reproduced in facsimile, is a fourteenth-century abridgement, from which the most interesting parts have been left out. It is of French origin, and is in Prague Cathedral Library. The reproduction, lithographed in 1873, bears the title *Scriptum super Apocalypsim cum Imaginibus* (*Wenceslai Doctoris*). Wenceslas was doubtless merely a former owner. The other MS. is not accessible to me, being in Breslau University Library (MS. I. Q. 19), and my knowledge of it is confined to a reference in the Quaracchi edition of S. Bonaventura's works, vol. vi, introd. pp. ix, x.

Before proceeding to the study of the chapters in question something must be said of the preliminary matter of the book. The date appears from a quatrain prefixed to the table of contents, as follows :

Frater Alexander Fratrum collega Minorum
Condidit istud opus, hunc Rege regente Polorum.
Si queris quando, cum natus mille ducentis
Septem sex uicibus erat annis Rex Orientis.

An even more definite indication of the date of composition is given on fol. 180: "Anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo secundo, quando cessauit episcopatus, sunt hec scripta, antequam eligeretur dominus Innocentius papa quartus, quamuis ante pene totus liber fuisset consummatus." (Innocent IV was elected at Anagni 25 June, 1243.)

The rubric to the preface is "Proemium in presentem librum, scilicet Apokalipsim, cuius exposicionem secundum intellectum historicum Agnus Dei fratri Alexandro uiro simplici et layco reuelauit." The preface begins "Sanctus Iohannes apostolus et ewangelista propter verbum Dei quod predicabat missus est in exilium a Domiciano Cesare in Pathmos insulam, ubi hanc apokalipsim uidit." After some discourse on the prophetic character of the work and its relation to Old Testament prophetic writings, and the neglect of Alexander's contemporaries, who perforce left it sealed for lack of the Key of David, "qui aperit, et nemo claudit; claudit et nemo aperit," the author proceeds:

Cum intentio nostra uersaretur circa gesta ecclesie, si facta eius prophetata fuissent, quesiuimus in uerbis huius libri earum [*sic*] concordiam cuius materia existit de populis ac gentibus et linguis et regibus multis, et non reperimus. Quodam uero die dominico, cum nos prout potuimus ad communicandum [*an omitted word here: a sixteenth-century hand in the margin suggests* "disposuissemus," *which will serve*] quedam nobis apparuerunt obscure. Cum autem circa hec noster fluctuaret intellectus, factum est die tercia, cum corpore Domini nostri Iesu Christi communicaremus, sine quo Agno in celo neque in terra neque sub terra quisquam librum aperire ualebit, ut Ipse nos in tantum instrueret, quod eodem die partem libri maximam intelligeremus impletam secundam ordinem hystoriarum; aliaque postea docuit.

A miniature in two scenes shows the friar's communion and his subsequent inspired writing.

Another interesting passage throws light on the historical material on which his mind was working (f. 7*b*): "Historie in quibus hec primitus didicimus in ydioma teuthonicum erant translate; sed modo latinis sunt verbis conscripte." This presumably refers to the Saxon Chronicle, the earliest prose chronicle written in German, the first version of which was completed about 1237.[1] It will appear in the sequel that Alexander made use of some of the Latin Chronicles on which the Saxon Chronicle was based.

Passing over, then, the exposition of the first nineteen chapters, in which Alexander traces the history of the Christian church for the first eleven centuries, we find at the beginning of ch. xx that the binding of the Serpent by the Angel (verses 1-3) is interpreted as referring to the excommunication by Pope Calixtus II of the Emperor Henry V (the thousand years, it is to be noted, "non possunt facile accipi simpliciter") and the loosening for "a little season" to the absolution accorded to him four years before his death. The thrones in verse 4 are those of the Holy See under Innocent II and of the Empire under Lothaire. The Beast of the same verse is Saladin. The passage which follows in the Cambridge MS. (f. 184), but is omitted in the Prague text, may be worth quoting in full for the historical information as to early North German bishoprics, as well as for the light it throws upon the authorship.

Siquidem cepit accendi noua lux in finibus cunctis imperii, uidelicet tranquillitas temporum et habundanti[a] rerum. Thuribulum quoque fidei deferri cepit per regionem Sclauie, Vicelino sacerdote cum aliis Christi fidelibus quos aduocare poterat hoc officium peragente. Hic erat natus de Quernhamele; uir utique simplicitatis columbine ueniens ad regem Sclauorum Lubeke petiuit ut liceret ei proponere uerbum predicationis per sue terminos dicionis. Beatum Nicolaum specialiter dilexit, in cuius die cum diuinum perageret cum sociis officium, in oratorio Sancte Brigide Patherburne, expleto sollempniter officio, ab aliquibus uoces angelice sunt audite psallentes responsorium modo quo dicere solet clerus: *Beatus Nicolaus iam triumpho potitus*; et accepta a rege

[1] *Cf.* Weiland's introduction to *Sächsische Weltchronik*, Mon. Germ., Script. qui vernacula lingua usi sunt, Tom. II, 1887.

predicandi licentia plurimos Sclauorum conuertit ab infidelitate sua. Predicauit autem auctoritate Alberonis tunc archiepiscopi Bremensis, et suis exigentibus meritis Aldenborch est in episcopum ordinatus, ad quam episcopii sedem omnis regio Obodritorum, Polaborum et Wairorum aliquando pertinebat, uidelicet omnes illi qui nunc Lubicensi et Zwerinensi et Rasceburgensi diocesibus sunt subiecti, ita quod eadem ecclesia decem episcopis sibi succedentibus, a tempore Ottonis imperatoris qui primum Marconem nomine posuit pontificem, sit gauisa. Sed et in Magnopoli, ubi quondam sedes erat que nunc est in ecclesia Zwerinensi, et que est precipua ciuitas Obodritorum, in tantum erat ampliatus diuini seruicii cultus, quod exceptis monasteriis et ecclesiis circumcirca locatis stabant tria cenobia regulis monasticis mancipata. Sed Sclaui, sepe redeuntes ad uomitum, occisis fidelibus, destructis ecclesiis, omnem in terris illis diuini nominis memoriam funditus abraserunt. Anno enim Domini millesimo sexagesimo secundo Godescalcum principem, qui multos ex eis conuerterat, occiderunt. Johannem episcopum etiam Mikelenborch primo fustibus cesum deinde pro ludibrio per ciuitates tractum et pedibus manibusque truncatum absciso capite proiecerunt in plateam canibus deuorandum. Eodem tempore Hammaburgensem etiam parochiam ferro et incendio uastauerunt, castrum Hammaborch funditus deleuerunt. Omnes itaque Sclaui facta conspiratione ad paganissimum [*sic*] iterum sunt relapsi occisis omnibus qui fidem negare nolebant. Et tunc uacauit sedes Aldenburgensis octoginta quatuor annis. Hec erat Sclauorum tercia negatio, quos primo Karolus conuertit, secundo Otto tercius, tercio princeps iste Godescalcus. Cumque placuisset Domino ut hee sedes ad eius reformarentur honorem, et iam misisset illos quos ad talem prouideret dignitatem congrue loqui poterat ecclesia *Uidi sedes* et *sederunt super eas*, scilicet Uicelinus in Aldeborch et Erachardus in Mikelborch, id est Magnopoli, qui ambo sunt anno domini millesimo centesimo quadragesimo nono ibidem in episcopos consecrati. *Et iudicium datum est illis*, quia confirmati per Alberonem archiepiscopum Bremensem etiam predicando, ligando, soluendo auctoritatem acceperunt plenarie potestatis. Ac uenerabilis sacerdos Vicelinus frequenti labore Sclauis ydolatrie nimium deditis uerbum fidei proposuit et extremum iudicium nuntiando plures conuertit. Nam per triginta annos antequam episcopalem sollicitudinem acceperet [*sic*] per regionem illam fideliter laborabat, quasi portum quietis habens Falderensem ecclesiam quam archiepiscopus sibi commiserat procurandam. Est autem Faldera nouum monasterium anno Domini millesimo centesimo uicesimo in Wairorum prouincia institutum. Verum ne Sclaui conuersi secundum suam consuetudinem in ydolatriam laberentur, immo ut gens

illa iudicium diuinum metueret, et sedes fidei catholice in illis partibus stabilis permaneret, Vicelinus sacerdos imperatorem Bardewik gloriosa Bardorum ciuitate morantem adiit, que tamen ciuitas in posterum, scilicet anno Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo nono ab Heinrico duce magno Heinrici Leonis filio penitus est destructa, insinuans ei quod in terra Wairorum mons haberetur aptus ad regale castrum, et ad firmissimum fidelibus pro coercendis ydolatris munimentum. Imperator accessit, castrum dolentibus Sclauis ibidem constituit, et ecclesiam in honore beate Virginis in pede montis fundauit, eamque Vicelino commisit anno Domini millesimo centesimo tricesimo quarto. Tunc quoque temporis, scilicet anno preterito iudicium a sede apostolica et imperiali processit cumque eorum [*sic*] factum impium Magni, filii Nicolai regis Danorum, dampnauit, qui filium patrui sui Herici Kanutum dolo occidit timens quod regnum Dacie deberet post patruum obtinere. Papa Kanutum in catalogo sanctorum posuit, et tam Papa quam imperator Magnum tamquam nepotis interfectorem in ecclesia execrabilem iudicauit. Sed et de sede Maiestatis Diuine non leue subsecutum est iudicium, quia cum idem Magnus in sacro die Pentecostes contra Hericum fratrem Kanuti nepotem suum in Sconia congrediens nollet differre bellum usque in crastinum, quamuis rogaretur ab episcopis et aliis pluribus, cum quatuor episcopis et multis clericis et Danis innumeris est abrasus, sequenti anno postquam nepotem occiderat.

The greater part of this passage is taken, as Mr. Little has pointed out to me, from Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*, §§ 41, 69, 51 (*Mon. Germ. Script.* xxi).

Here we have already sufficient ground for rejecting the opinion of the anonymous fifteenth-century annotator of the Cambridge MS. who identifies Friar Alexander with Alexander of Hales. Apart from the difficulty of regarding that famous man as " simplex et laicus," we could hardly conceive him as so deeply interested in the ecclesiastical affairs of Saxony as to make them a main feature of his apocalyptic interpretation. What we are now guessing as to the native place of the author will become something more than a guess before we have finished.

The " souls of them that were beheaded " is made to refer to the Second Crusade, the account of which (much

fuller than in the Prague MS.) need not detain us, except just to notice the mention of S. Hildegard's works and the murder of S. Thomas of Canterbury. The passage concludes with a reference to a massacre of Christians by pagan Slavs at Mecklenburg.

Another passage of three pages omitted in the Prague MS. expounds the words "which had not worshipped the Beast," in reference to the schism of 1159-1179. Parts of this (f. 186*b*) are worth quoting:

Anno Domini millesimo centesimo sexagesimo quarto, hoc est sequenti anno post martyrium beati Thome,[1] Christianus Moguntinus archiepiscopus imperialis aule legatus cum Brabantinis per Lombardiam et Tusciam omnia depopulans Bononienses hostiliter inuasit, et in equo militari residens indutus lorica et desuper tunica iacinctina habens in capite galeam deauratam et in manibus clauam trinodem nouem homines dicitur occidisse. Qui uidit testimonium perhibuit, scilicet Heinricus eius notarius, qui postea factus est Bremensis scolasticus. Preterea idem archiepiscopus uiginti octo melioribus terre propria manu dentes excussit, et totum exercitum Bononiensem effugauit. Bononiam obsidet, ciuibus insultat. . . In iam dicto concilio Lateranensi erant a papa consecrati duo episcopi, unus Anglicus, unus Scotticus; unus solo equo uenerat, alter pedes cum solo pedite. Erat ibi episcopus Hiberniensis qui retulit Heinrico Bremensi scolastico se non habere alios redditus nisi tres uaccas lactantes, quas in defectu lactis parochiani sui per alias innouabant. Paupertas, si leta uenit tutissima res est. . . . [*f.* 187*b*] Scismate sopito et Alexandro papa canonice intronizato duo tantum anni preterierunt et Alexander abiit, et ei Lucius Hostiensis episcopus successit anno Domini millesimo centesimo secundo, et eodem anno natus est puer Franciskus in ciuitate Assisii, patre Petro de Bernardone.

One is tempted to see here a direct personal connection between our author and the Bremen schoolmaster; but the connection is not quite so close. Almost the whole passage is taken verbatim from the *Annales Stadenses*.[2]

[1] On fol. 186*a* he gives 1171 as the date of Thomas's death, and then goes on: "Petrus Longobardus librum sententiarum octo annis ante ediderat. Circa idem tempus scil. 1164 . . . a Sclauis est magna multitudo fidelium interfecta." *Cf.* the rhymed couplets in *Annales Hamburgenses*, p. 382 (*M.G.* xvi), connecting the death of Thomas with the Sentences. (A. G. L.)

[2] *Mon. Germ. Script.* xvi, 347, 349.

In the pages which follow we find many quotations from prophecies ascribed to Joachim of Fiore. So far as I have been able to identify them, they are taken from the Interpretatio in Hieremiam. I quote the Venice ed., 1525, but there are many differences in the text. That this work cannot have been written by the historical Joachim, who died in 1202, scarcely needs proof, but if anyone needs an elaborate demonstration he will find it in a dissertation by Karl Friderich in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, ii, 349 sqq., 449 sqq. (Jena, 1859). Alexander, however, has no doubts of its authenticity, and the fact is interesting, if not surprising.

The explanation of the Saints' thousand years reign which follows is much ampler in the Cambridge than in the Prague MS., but is, unfortunately, broken by a gap possibly of several quires. The context of the fragment that remains, which I propose to quote at length (f. 192), is therefore uncertain. It belongs to an explanation of the "first resurrection" of vv. 5, 6, and the opening words doubtless relate to the Albigenses.

. . . micam. Sunt igitur hii miseri deleti anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo quarto, kalendas Iulii, die sabbati. Superstites uero sub celi uentis quatuor sunt dispersi. Vere *beatus et sanctus qui habet partem in resurrectione prima*, a qua hec natio misera per contemptum iusticie et clauium ecclesie facta est miserabiliter aliena. Sed in peregrinis ibi sub uexillo crucis cadentibus *mors secunda non habet potestatem*, quia ipsi per Dei gratiam resurrectione prima, que contricionis et confessionis est, fideliter celebrata, secundam expectant, que celebrabitur in gloria. Circa idem tempus, scilicet anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo uicesimo quinto, Engelbertus [1] Coloniensis archiepiscopus a Friderico comite de Ysenborch occiditur, et tercio post anno Traiectensis episcopus super Trentam interficitur a rusticis feria quarta die Pantaleonis, fratre suo Theoderico Dauentrie preposito ad mortem uulnerato et interfectis cum eo militibus et militum filiis pene trecentis.[2] Secundo post hec anno monachi de

[1] From this point to "se subtraxit" the passage is taken from *Ann. Stad.*, pp. 359, 360, 354, 363.

[2] *Ann. Stad.*, p. 360, says 200; *Sächs. Weltchronik*, cap. 372, "wol verhundert riddere." It looks as if our author deliberately took an average between his two authorities.

Dunemunde in Livonia paganorum interruptione subita cum tota fere sua familia trucidantur. Quid referam quod sequenti mox anno Parisius inter clerum et populum maxima contentio oritur, et quod multi tunc ibidem trucidati sunt clerici, ita ut studium in Andegauiam transferretur. Rediit tamen. Hoc quoque subticui, quod circa principium temporis suspecti[1] Conradus Herbipolensis episcopus in ecclesie contumeliam est occisus. Sed hanc ecclesie diuisionem tacere non ualeo, quod circa idem tempus, uidelicet anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo septimo orientalis ecclesia in tantum desipuit, quod a sede apostolica se subtraxit. Hiis et aliis criminum densitatibus cepit illo tempore mundus tenebrescere, et in tantum ut nemo ualeat perdicere quantis et quot erroribus mundus a lucida deuiauerit ueritate. Sed Deus, scientiarum dominus, qui omnia nouit antequam fiant, ut has fugaret tenebras cepit in mundo duo luminaria magna misericordie sue manibus accendere, Dominicum uidelicet et Franciscum, ut unus innocentie alter penitentie preberet exemplum et ambo fierent omnibus bene uiuendo uite perfectissime documentum, ut sic uere lucis eos irradiante gratia ab utroque eorum radius noui ordinis exurgeret, qui ad imitationem paterne originis tam bone uite iubare quam doctrine salutaris acumine scelerum caliginem a cetis [*sic*] hominum mentibus expelleret, et in eis lumen quod uenit ad reuelationem gentium per septem orbis climata suscitaret. De quibus Ioachim abbas cuius superius mentionem fecimus sic predixerat [super Hierem. *f.* 1]. *Tales doctores et tales prophete mittendi sunt qui non solum subditos increpent, sed etiam prelatos et pontifices fulgurent et non palpent. Reuelandi quippe sunt in proximo doctores et predicatores fideles qui terrena corda et carnalia omni plaga percutiant, et elatis ac tumidis magistris studiis suis silentium ponant.* Et iterum [*f.* 10]. *Potens est deus qui miseretur et commodat in iudicio uerba sua disponere et celum iterum aperire, daturus in proximo stillas pluuiarum, scilicet ordinem predicantium et doctorum stillantium stillicidia super terram, et cum eis aliquos imbres gratie multiformis.* Item ipse [*f.* 12*b*]. Duo sunt ordines affuturi *in coruo et columba, quia ille totus niger et illa uaria. Sed uox cantantis in fenestra et coruus in superluminari* [sic]. *Iste coruus est ordo predicantium qui emittetur per obedientiam ex archa Noe, id est curia summi pontificis, nec redit, quia ad hoc mittitur ut diluuium non*

[1] *Cf.* fol. 114: "De hoc tempore dicit abbas Ioachim: Ab anno Domini millesimo centesimo et ultra suspecta sunt michi tempora et momenta." Conrad, bishop of Würzburg, was killed 1202 (*Ann. Stad.*, p. 354).

pauescat. Iste cantabit in fenestra populi Christiani, qui fidei lumen in se non admisit. Et adiecit [*f.* 13]. *Isti sunt predicatores optimi qui honeste et sobrie Deum et Dominum laudabunt toto corde.* [ib.] *Huic ordini multi et* [sic] *doctoribus ecclesie confugient adorare uestigia pedum eius, id est imitari per predicationem uel conuersationem in pedibus designatam. Nam alii dabunt aurum exponendo fidem per typicum intellectum, alii mirram, mores exponendo per moralem; alii uero thus, contemplatores excitando per allegoricum, relinquendo historicum quasi albuginem in oculis.* Adhuc idem [*ib.*], *Nota quod eo quod coruus unicolor est columba discolor in seipsis, datur intelligi quod ordines eorum diuersi erunt quoad habitum, non quoad animum, quia ad unum regnum tendunt et in uno stadii proposito et merito concurrent.* Impleta sunt que Ioachim cecinit. Fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen Dominicus. Natus est puer Franciscus in ciuitate Assisii patre Petro de Bernardone anno Domini millesimo centesimo octagesimo secundo,[1] eodem scilicet anno quo papa Alexander obiit, qui schisma quod steterat uiginti annis sopiuit. Isti sunt due oliue et duo candelabra lucentia ante Dominum quorum non minus conuersationis quam predicationis flamma mundum illuminat uniuersum, Dominico in innocentia stante et Francisco anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexto se ad penitentiam conuertente. Vnde bene in hoc tempore Iohannes de eo dicit Franciscus *beatus*, quia se a uanitatibus seculi conuertit, *et sanctus* quia in cunctis bonorum operum uirtutibus se exercuit, qui ex hoc *habet partem in resurrectione prima*, que erigit eum et stare facit in mandatorum Dei uia. Et *in hiis* ambobus, scilicet Dominico et Francisco, et in eorum sequacibus, *mors secunda non habet potestatem, sed erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi* eius, *et regnabunt cum eo mille annis*, scilicet seculorum seculis. Preparauit etiam Dominus contra inoportunitates huius temporis strenuum. . .

The MS. fails us here, unfortunately, and the whole passage is absent from the Prague text. After the lacuna we have (f. 194) the end of the first of two alternative expositions of verses 11-15 of the same chapter, but there is nothing in the rest of this chapter to detain us. I pass on (f. 195*b*) to ch. xxi, v. 10, the vision of the New Jerusalem :

Per istam ciuitatem designantur fratres minores, qui secundum Hystoriam uitam apostolorum imitantur, et predicatores, qui apostolum Paulum in predicatione secuntur. Isti omnes Iherusalem

[1] *Cf.* p. 25 above.

uocantur quia ad uisionem pacis eterne iam tendunt. Nouam dicit quia exuentes ueterem hominem induunt nouum, qui secundum Deum creatus est. Vnde habitum spiritalem sumentibus dicitur ut exuant ueterum [*sic*] hominem nouum assumentes. De sancto Dominico dicit Hystoria quod ipse tamquam ciuitas supra montem posita delectabile cunctis sanctitatis spectaculum exhiberet. De sancto quoque Francisco. . . .

Again a regrettable hiatus. We resume at f. 193, v. 19, of the precious stones of the foundations. I will quote a few sentences only :

Fundamentum muri ciuitatis ex omni lapide precioso ornate. Fundamenta istius ciuitatis erant beatus Franciscus et sanctus Dominicus et ceteri cum eis super quorum doctrina et exemplo constat murus ciuitatis. Que fundamenta omni lapide precioso, id est omnibus uirtutibus ornati erant. De sancto Dominico dicit Hystoria quod fuerit tamquam uas omnibus preciosis lapidibus ornatus. Amplius dicetur quid Historia de sancto Francisco narret. . . . Per iaspidem, qui uiridis est, designatur Christus qui est uiridis quia in euangelio se dicit lignum uiride. Super quod fundamentum edificauit sanctus Franciscus. Vnde dicitur in Historia inter cetera : Prerogatiuam licet ignorans semper reseruans Christo, fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere. . . . Hec dicuntur illo in loco ubi aliquod edificium ante inchoatum consumauit . . *Secundum Saphirus* qui lapis est similis celo et qui percussus radiis solis ardentem emittit fulgorem. Per quem accipitur ardor caritatis. Vnde statim Historia subiungit de uirginibus Deo dicatis et deuotissimis ancillis Christi, quod eterni sponsi amor in eis accensus sit, qui est sol iusticie. Vbi etiam preciosissimarum margaritarum nobilis narratur structura surrexisse, dicitur de caritate ante omnia in eis uiget uirtus mutue et continue caritatis. . . . *Tercium calcedonius* qui lapis colore pallenti refulget. Per quam notatur humilitas que in corde lucet, sed foris despicitur. Vnde dicit Historia Secundo rutilat humilitatis gemma. Secunda quantum ad homines sed tercia quantum ad primum fundamentum Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. . . *Quartum smaragdus.* Omne uirens superat sua uiriditate smaragdus. Lapis etiam iste fatur lasciuos compescere motus [Marbodus, De gemmis, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* clxxi, coll. 1744, 1745]. Vnde Historia terciam gemmam dicit esse uirginitatem . . . *Quintum sardonix.* Qui lapis est tricolor, niger in imo, in medio candidus et rubeus in supremo. Historia quartam gemmam dicit esse paupertatem, que tamen est quinta quantum ad

Dominum Iesum Christum. Per paupertatem in corpore existebant nigre et despecte. Quod se subiciebant spiritui et ipso spiritu secundum apostolum incandescebant et renouebantur de die in diem. In supremo uero gradus coram oculis Domini rubicundi et martires fuerunt. Scriptum etenim est [Ecclus. xxxiv, 27] *Qui effundit sanguinem et qui fraudem facit mercenario fratres sunt.* Quanto magis iste qui se propter Deum defraudabant temporalibus operibus et proprio sanguine sanguinis effusores dicuntur. Quia narrat Historia quod extreme necessitati uictus et uestitus uix aut numquam satisfacerentur. Nam uoluntaria paupertas est coram Deo martirium. *Sextum sardius.* Qui lapis terre rubre speciem gerit. In Historia quintus lapis dicitur esse taciturnitas et abstinentia, sed a primo fundamento est sextus. Iste namque uehementem taciturnitatem sunt adepte propter Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui in sexta feria tamquam ouis ad occisionem ductus est, et quasi agnus coram tondente obmutuit. Per ruborem lapidis designatur quod abstinentia tantum afflixerat corpus ut possent dicere cum propheta [Lam. v, 10] *Pellis nostra quasi clibanus exusta est a facie tempestatum famis.* Hec in memoriam dominice passionis perpesse sunt. Etiam scriptum est [Eccles. xxxiv, 25] *Panis egentium uita pauperis et qui defraudauerit illum uir sanguinum est* Vnde iste que seipsas defraudabant pane homines sanguinum existebant, quia abstinentia in habundantia est martirium.

A missing leaf is followed (f. 196) by an exposition of the gates. The first passage of interest here is on v. 21:

Per aurum mundum quod est tamquam uitrum prelucidum designatur mundicia et puritas cordis eorum que sanctis operibus et nimio desiderio alter alteri studio dilectionis manifestat. In Historia sancti Dominici dicitur quod aurum sanctitatis quo intus rutilabat ostendit foris.[1] Possunt etiam mali in operibus aliorum nequiciam suam uelut in speculo mundissimo considerare. Vnde dicit Historia Tempore etiam modico adeo multiplicati sunt Fratres Minores quod non est aliqua prouincia Christianorum in qua aliquos de fratribus non habeant, qui in seipsis uelut in speculo mundissimo mundane uanitatis contemptum oculis insipientium representant. Quid faciemus canibus qui aduersus istam sanctam ciuitatem letrant detrahentes et lacerantes famam eius propter mala que uident in reprobis qui sanctis istis in conspectu hominum admiscentur,

[1] *Cf.* Jordan's Vita S. Dominici (Quétif-Echard, Script. Ord. Præd. I, 3): "inter quos quasi stella in medio nebulæ per vitæ innocentiam rutilabat." (A. G. L.)

et non in conspectu Dei ad istam ciuitatem computantur, qui etiam bona in malum interpretentur ? Nam omnia peruersorum solent corrumpere mores. De huiusmodi canibus dicit Iohannes [Rev. xxii, 15] *foris canes*. Quidam de ipsis egredientes austeritatem ordinis ferre nolentes eos blasphemant, ostendentes quod religionem non ex corde susceperint.

On the following verses, describing the absence of other temple or light than God and the Lamb, the author remarks (f. 196*b*) :

Notandum quod hic fit mentio de templo et sole et luna et nocte. Dicit namque Historia quod Fratres Minores ab initio ecclesias non haberent. Tunc etiam Iohannes simpliciter templum non uidit. Sed postea habituri erant ecclesias. Vnde in sequenti, quando iterum mentio fit de nocte et lucerna et sole non dicit se templum non uidere, quia sicut diximus postea habuerunt ecclesias, non tamen in tantum ornatas ut a populo possent appellari templa siue templum, magis attendentes eum qui dicit se templo maiorem, in quo templo in isto seculo et futuro ipsi Deo et Agno disponunt cum omnibus sanctis seruire.

A little further on, v. 25, in reference to the gates which shall not be closed at all by day, he says (f. 197*b*) :

Si olim Neemias habuisset subficientes milites et arma, non fuisset necesse ut clausisset portas terrestris Iherusalem usque ad calorem solis sicut ista habet. Vnde dicit etiam Historia de sancto Francisco[1] Videbatur sibi domum suam plenam habere militaribus armis, clipeis, lanceis et ceteris apparatibus. Cumque ad subitum rerum euentum stuperet responsum est ei omnia hic arma sua fore militumque suorum. Et quidem pulchre satis et optime multum arma traduntur contra fortem armatum militi pugnaturo, ut quasi alter Dauid ab inueterato inimicorum obprobrio liberet Iherusalem.

On v. 26, where again allusion is found to the friars, he continues :

Notandum etiam quod abbas Ioachym, cuius supra mentionem fecimus, et cuius pene omnes libri recepti sunt ab apostolicis, uidelicet Eugenio, Lucio et Urbano, de istis ordinibus predixerit. Ait namque super Iheremiam [*references not identified*] Diuulgari oportet euangelium iterato a filio paruulo qui nascetur couterino Ioseph predicatoribus ueritatis. Et iterum [*f.* 1] *Tribus Leui ecclesia contemplatiuorum de qua spirituales doctores ac si de celo angeli*

[1] I Cel. § 5, p. 9 (ed. E. Alenconiensis, 1906). (A. G. L.)

descenderent ad populum informandum, quia et sacerdotes angeli describuntur. Item [*f.* 1*b*] *Isti sunt reges Iuda, isti Leuitici generis regale utique sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus acquisitionis, ac si alius Benyamin, filius non tam doloris in penitentia quam scilicet exultationis in gloria.* Puto quod sicut olim elegit patres seniores, secundo apostolos iuniores, ita et nunc pueros eligat ad litteram propter eos quibus uetera inualuerunt ad predicandum regni euangelium prelatis et adulterantibus uerbum Dei. Et [*f.* 2] *sicut per Moysen et Iosue Chananeus* [sic] *Israelitis subiecit, Christianis per Paulum et Barnabam strauit ydolatras, sic et nunc per duos ordines fututuros* [sic] *significatis* [sic] *in illis gentes incredulas subiugat atque conuertat* [sic]. Item [*f.* 13] *Isti sunt predicatores optimi qui honeste et sobrie uerum Deum et Dominum laudabunt.* Item [*ibid.*] *Nota per hoc quod coruus unicolor et columba discolor in seipsis . . . concurrent.* Item [*ibid.*] *Alter ordo qui ab ipsis angelis paulominus minorabitur, hic est frater uester minimus quem expedit libere et etiam sacco religionis eorum ligare calicem Ioseph, scilicet predicationem, in qua auguratur Pharao, id est Christus in euangelio ueritatis.* Item [*f.* 25*b*] *Summus pontifex,* qui significatur in Ysaac, *duos edos edet, quia minor ordo eorum festinus ad obedientiam clericos et laicos indifferenter admissos excommunicans a propriis incorticabit ecclesie.* Item [*f.* 26] *Scala religio est, angeli predicatores eorum, Dominus innixus Spiritus scilicet roborans ordinem eorundem, gradus scale profectus eorundem, ut alii ordines penitentium sub eo quod forte in ipso ordine predicatores erunt clerici qui Deo seruiant, laici qui contine* [sic] *et religiose uiuant, spirituales et penitentes uirgines qui* [sic] *se a turbine secularis conuersationis abscondant, oleum de inuento* [sic] *petra fides quam supposuit et infundit quia obedientiam et reuerentiam exhibebit capiti summo pontifici et tenebit et obseruabit per omnia apostolicam fidem et catholicam doctrinam ecclesie, que est domus Dei et porta celi, et hoc propter perfidiam Antichristi, qui temporibus ipsius ordinis et signis et prodigiis mendacibus est reuelandus unde Porte inferi non preualebunt aduersus eam.* Item [*f.* 61*b*] *Ecce plantaturus est Dominus nouas salices secus generationes seculi defluentes qui fructificare mundo renuant et ad celestia sola tendant, salutis itaque consiliarios et uoluntarie paupertatis amatores, fide etiam mundos et correctione seueros, quibus mundi gaudiis derelictis gaudiorum spiritualium organa debemus saniori consilio applicare, ut tandem pro terrenis stipendiis celestia nobis rependantur.*

Here follow several quotations from S. Hildegard. On the last verse of the chapter is quoted (f. 199) a saying

of S. Francis : "Quicumque fratrum uerba mea seruare noluerint, non teneo eos fratres meos donec penitentiam egerint."

On ch. xxii, verse 1, he again has a reference (*ibid.*) to the mendicant orders :

De sancto Francisco dicit historia Fons illuminati amoris replens omnia uiscera eius ebulliebat foras,[1] et in nouissimo tempore nouus evangelista quasi unus de paradysi fluminibus in toto terrarum orbe fluenta euangelii pia irrigatione diffudit.[2] Et de sancto Dominico dicitur Effudit largius fons sapientie super latitudinem sordis eius, quod ipse postea aliis effudit habunde. Nam quod humane pericie deerat, hoc in eo diuine gracie illuminatio habundanter supplebat.

On verse 2 (f. 199*b*) :

Ex una parte existere intelliguntur studentes Fratrum Minorum, ex altera studentes Predicatorum, qui in lege Domini meditantur die ac nocte. Inter quos iam dicta doctrina fluit instruens ne declinent ad dexteram uel sinistram. Isti lignis comparantur secundum illud [Ps. i, 2, 3] *Qui in lege Domini meditantur* [sic] *die ac nocte erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo et folia eius non defluent, et omnia quecumque faciet prosperabuntur.* Hinc rursum dicitur de hiis qui aprehendunt sapientiam [Prov. iii, 18] *Lignum uite est hiis qui aprehenderint eam.* Isti afferunt fructus duodecim bonorum operum duodecim mensibus, id est per singulos duodecim menses anni exemplo duodecim apostolorum. Vnde de supradictis electis dicit papa Gregorius Fratres Minores more apostolorum serendo semina uerbi Dei diuersas circueunt regiones.[3] Et de sancto Dominico dicitur quia bonum fructum attulit Domino, quod apostolorum non sit fraudatus gloria.

These quotations will suffice to give an idea of Alexander's method of interpretation, so far as it applies the apocalyptic prophecies to the history of his own order. In the foregoing pages many references are made to "historia." The "Historia Sancti Dominici" which is once quoted is a separate work—probably, Mr. Little tells me, the *Life of S. Dominic*, by his successor, Jordan

[1] I Cel. § 115, p. 121 (A. G. L.).
[2] *Ibid.*, § 89, p. 92.
[3] *Bull, Franc.* I, pp. 127–128 (12 June, 1234).

of Saxony. Two of the passages quoted from "historia" are found in Celano's first *Life of S. Francis*. But most of the quotations are from some work or works not identified in which probably the passages from Celano had been incorporated. The unknown "historia" treated (to judge from the allusions here made) of S. Dominic and S. Francis and the early years of the two Orders; it also contained allegorical interpretations of the precious stones of the Apocalypse.

"A guess may be hazarded that the 'historia' was the chronicle of Albert of Stade. Master Albert was ordained Abbot of S. Mary's Stade in 1232, and, after vainly endeavouring for some years to convert his monastery into a Cistercian Abbey, he joined the Franciscans of Stade in 1240. In the same year he was writing his chronicle, which survives in a mutilated form[1] in the *Annales Stadenses*. One would have expected Albert to have given considerable space both to the Cistercian and to the Franciscan movements; the references to both are, however, few and slight in the *Annales Stadenses*. It is not unlikely that Alexander, who deals at some length with both these Orders, may have incorporated in his work lost parts of Albert's original chronicle. It is, however, doubtful whether Alexander ascribes to 'historia' any passage which occurs in the extant *Annales Stadenses*. The relations between the two writers were close and probably personal. Not only does Alexander frequently make use of Albert's work, but Albert, in a continuation of his chronicle, quotes Friar Alexander's 'expositio apocalypsis.'"[2] (A. G. L.) It may be noted that Stade was (at any rate later) one of the houses included in the Franciscan custody of Bremen.

Let us now sum up what we have been able to gather

[1] Weiland, in *Forschungen z. D. G.*, xiii, pp. 157–198.

[2] *Ann. Stad.*, p. 372, *ad an.* 1250. "Hiis auditis rumoribus (*i.e.* of disasters to Louis IX) prophetiam abbatis Ioachim quidam reduxerunt ad memoriam, qui dixit: *Superabitur Francus, capietur pontifex summus, praevalebit imperans Alemannis.* Sed frater Alexander in expositione apokalypsis eandem prophetiam tangens, subicit sic: *Sed ecclesia orat, ut quod dictum est in ultionem, transeat in salutem.*"

as to the man himself. He was a Saxon, vir simplex e laicus, probably connected with the diocese of Bremen and acquainted with Friar Albert of Stade and either directly or through Friar Albert with the schoolmaster of Bremen, whose name was Henry; and from the tags of verse which he quotes we may possibly suspect that Alexander himself had something to do with the education of youth. On consulting Hodenberg's *Die Diöcese Bremen* (1859, iii, p. 28) we find that Henry's date is approximately 1183-1226, and that he had a successor, Albert Suerbeer (about 1226-1235), who became in 1240 Archbishop of Armagh and resigned that see in 1247. Albert's successor as scholasticus was Alexander (of Bekeshovede, I suppose the modern Buxtehude), whose name occurs in 1237 and 1238, but not after 1241. If we suppose that this Alexander left his schoolmastering to become a friar it is not impossible that he may be the author of our exposition. The hypothesis might even serve to explain the conveyance of the treatise to England, if we suppose that Alexander transmitted a copy to his predecessor in his Irish diocese and that somebody copied it again on the way thither; and, as we have seen, there are some slight indications that matters Irish were expected to be of interest to the reader of the exposition. That Albert Suerbeer himself was not a friar (Gams calls him a Franciscan, Eubel a Dominican) may be inferred from the entry about him in the *Annales Stadenses* (p. 360), but he was closely associated with the friars in Ireland.[1] Whether, however, the identification of our author with the Bremen schoolmaster be accepted or not, we shall probably be safe in regarding him as the same person as Fabricius's Frater Alexander Alemannicus (Saxo), who

[1] Brit. Soc. Fr. Studies, vol. ix, pp. 6–7. A more direct link between Alexander of Bekeshovede (Buxtehude?) and England might be Friar Adam, chief physician among the early Franciscans in England: he is called Adam de Bechesoueres, Hekeshovre, Bethgore, etc.—(Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 187; *Cat. of Romances*, Brit. Mus., iii, 634)—evidently a foreign name which puzzled his English confrères, and may well be identified with Bekeshovede. But the intercourse between the English and Saxon Franciscan provinces was at this time very close. (A. G. L.)

wrote Commentarii in Apocalypsin (*Bibl. Lat. Med. et Inf. Aetatis*, i, p. 60); although the addition "inter scholasticos saeculi xv, doctor illibatus" would seem to be inconsistent with the date of our treatise. In reality these scholastic titles belong rather to the thirteenth and fourteenth than to the fifteenth century, as Sbaralea points out in his Supplement to Wadding's work.

IV. *The List of Libraries Prefixed to the Catalogue of John Boston and the Kindred Documents.* By M. R. James.

THE bibliographical census of English libraries known by the name of the Catalogue of John Boston is at present only accessible in a printed form in the extracts, referring to English authors, prefixed to Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, where the Preface to the work is also given. We may hope that the whole will be made available not very long hence, for there is a prospect of its being included in a series of mediæval texts published at Louvain, and the work of editing has been undertaken by the Benedictine Nuns of Stanbrook Abbey, who have already spent some years upon the study of the text.

The general lines of Boston's work are well known; it need only be said here that the body of it consists of an alphabetical list of nearly 700 authors, with a short biographical notice of each, followed by a list of works of which the title and first and last words are given; and then we find a series of numbers which refer back to a numbered list of monasteries, cathedrals, etc., subjoined to the Preface. So that the numbers indicate in what libraries copies of each work named could be found.

It is this list of libraries which forms the subject of the present article.

But what, it may be asked, makes the work of John Boston, a Benedictine monk of Bury, an appropriate subject for *Collectanea Franciscana*?

The answer is that Boston's Catalogue owes its inception, in all likelihood, to the Franciscan Order—for there are two earlier forms of it. The one, preserved in a single MS. (Bodl. Tanner 165), is entitled *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*:[1] it contains the list of libraries, divided into eight *Custodiae* (London, Sarum, Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol, Worcester, York,

[1] There is a copy of part of it in one of Wharton's volumes of collections MS. Lambeth 594.

Newcastle) and a list of some 70 authors and their works, not arranged in alphabetical order. The other, of which two complete copies are known to me (British Museum Royal 3 D 1, and Peterhouse 169), contains the list of libraries arranged under *Custodiae* as above, and a list of over 80 authors in alphabetical order. This is followed by a synopsis or digest of commentaries upon the whole Bible, and the entire work is named *Tabulae Septem* [*not* Octo] *Custodiarum super Bibliam*. There are other MSS. of it, *e.g.*, at Balliol College, which contain only the commentary and not the lists of libraries and authors.

The division of the country into *Custodiae* is an unmistakeable token of Franciscan origin, and Boston, as was natural, obliterates it. The number of the Custodies, however, is remarkable. That of Sarum, Professor Little informs me, is not heard of (save in these lists) after about 1250.[1] It is further noteworthy that the *Tabula*, though enumerating eight Custodies, calls itself *Tabula Septem Custodiarum*.

This at once raises the question of the date of the compilation of the list. I cannot answer it of my own knowledge; our MSS. tell us nothing: none of them is older than the fifteenth century: Boston's date is at the very beginning of that century (1410). That is the *terminus ad quem*. The *terminus a quo* is the disappearance of the Salisbury Custodia, *i.e.*, 1250 or thereabouts.

I have been accustomed to assume that the *Registrum Anglie* is older than the *Tabula*, for two main reasons: first, the non-alphabetical order of authors—an alphabetical order, if original, would surely never have been disturbed by a later writer; second, the fact that the *Tabula* includes a few more writers than the *Registrum*, seemingly 20. (On the other hand, *Registrum* seems to have seven which are not in *Tabula*.) The additions of *Tabula* are chiefly in the class of ancient authors.

Until, therefore, other evidence is produced I will

[1] See *Studies in English Franciscan History*, by A. G. Little (Manchester, 1917), pp. 235–238.

take it that the order of the authorities is *Registrum*, *Tabula*, *Boston*, and I will designate each by its initial letter.

The annexed transcript of the list of libraries is based upon the following authorities, some of which have been already named: R. is from MS. Tanner 165, T. from Royal 3D1 and Peterhouse 169; B. is from Tanner's transcript of the lost mediæval MS. of Boston, which transcript, once at Leeds Castle, Kent, was long in the Phillipps collection at Cheltenham, and was purchased by the Cambridge University Library at the Phillipps sale of 1890 (lot 500).

It is a curious list, alike in respect of nomenclature, omissions, and inclusions, and there are irregularities in the numbering and other points to which attention will be called.

First, as to its extent and order. R. and T. give a list of 167 names numbered in Arabic figures, and intercalate at three points 19 others numbered in Roman figures (in this peculiar order: xiii-xxvii, v, vi, xi, xii). The reason why Roman figures were employed at all may be uncertainly guessed. The great block of them, xiii-xxvii, v, vi, relate to the counties of Gloucester, Wilts., Dorset, Somerset, Hereford, Monmouth, Brecon; xi and xii to Cheshire and Shropshire. If the census of libraries was taken either by itinerant envoys or by local syndicates we can understand that one such envoy or syndicate may have employed a different system of numbering from the rest, and that his or their work coming in later was incorporated without alteration into the general catalogue to save trouble. The choice of the numbers employed can be explained in part: i, ii, iii, iiii would be liable to confusion with Arabic figures; it is not easy to see why vii-x were not used.

It is to be feared, I may add, that the compilers or the copyists sometimes translated Roman figures into Arabic and vice versa. We certainly find the number x in the text very often, and it has no place in the list. Boston, who re-numbers the Roman figures and makes them

176-194 in his list, seems to make no reference to any of them in his text, and as most of them are referred to in R. T. suspicion is intensified. Add to this that xvii is the one Roman number not to be found in R. T. and that Boston also has no 17.

Boston, who has the whole list before him, discards, I repeat, this anomaly. He is not hampered by the division into Custodiae of R. and T., and so he collects the Roman figures together, puts them into their proper order, and annexes them to the end of his list, where they stand as 176 (=v)–194 (=xxvii). His whole list runs to 195 items, which are made up thus : 1-167=1-167 of R. T. ; 168-175, eight names from his own neighbourhood in East Anglia, added by himself; 176-194, the Roman-figure names of R. T. ; 195, another addition of his own.

Now as to irregularities in the numbering. The first is shown by the following extract :

R.	T.	B.
Nouus locus 18	N. L. 18	N. L. 18
S. Pauli, London 19	S. Pauli, London 22	London, S. Pauli 19
Custodia Sarum	*Sarum*	
Waverle 19	Waverlee 19	Waverleye 20
Lewys 20	Lewes 20	Lewes 21
Cicestre 22	Chicestre 21	Cicestria 22
Sowyk 23	Suthwyk 23	Suthwych 23

R. has duplicated the number 19, and to correct the error has omitted 21. T. has taken another way of correcting and assigned the number 22 to St. Paul's. B. has preferred to number straight on.

The result is that No. 19 means in R. either St. Paul's or Waverley, in T. Waverley only, in B. St. Paul's only. No. 20 in R. and T. means Lewes, in B. Waverley. No. 21 in R. means nothing, in T. Chichester, in B. Lewes. No. 22 in R. and B. means Chichester, in T. St. Paul's. My own view is that the mistake originated with R., which accidentally repeated the number 19 at the beginning of the new section (Custodia Sarum). The circular, or the travelling brother, or whatever machinery

was being employed, was set going before the mistake was discovered.

The next discrepancy affects Nos. 61 to 66:

R.	T.	B.
Burgh 61	Burgh 61	Burch 61
Turney 62	Thorneye 62	Thorneye 62
Crowland 63	Crowlande 63	Croylande 63
Burgus S. Petri	Burgus S. Petri 64	(*om*)
Custodia Cantebregg	*Cantabrigg*	(*om*)
Bernewelle 64	Bernewelle 65	Bernewelle 64
Rammesey 65	Ramseye 66	Ramesia 65
Ely 67	Hely 67	Ely 67

The confusion starts with 61. Whatever R. and T. meant by this, it is evident that Boston took it to mean Peterborough. But R. inserts Peterborough after Crowland (63), yet gives it no number. T. inserts it and gives it a number, 64; Boston discards both name and number. Hence confusion.

No. 64 in R. and B. = Barnwell : in T. Peterborough.
65 in R. and B. = Ramsey : in T. Barnwell.
66 is omitted by R. and B. : in T. Ramsey.
67 in all = Ely.

I guess here that Burgus S. Petri was originally an explanatory gloss on Burgh, and crept into the text at the end of the section. Assuming R. to be the earliest of the authorities, I also guess that T. found both Burgh and Burgus S. Petri in its list and supplied what it supposed to be an omitted number. B., with a better text before him, or more alert in mind, was not deceived. But why R. and B. unite in omitting the number 66 I do not see. It is no less and no more liable to confusion than any other number of which the two digits are the same, 33, 44, etc. The number 100 is omitted in all three lists, I suppose because it was liable to be misread or misinterpreted as 10.

The next mistake affects Nos. 104, 105:

R.	T.	B.
Malmesberia 103	Malmesberia 103	Malmesberia 103
Sirencestr' 105	Curucestria 104	Cirencestria 104
(*om*)	Clamorgan 105	Clammorgan 105
Doore 106	Doore 106	Dore 106

This looks like a mere error of the *scribe* of R. Instead of writing Cirencester 104, Glamorgan 105, he has put down Cirencester 105, and left out Glamorgan (Margam). The resultant confusion is slight. I do not know whether the text of R. has references both to 104 and 105.

Allowing for all omissions in numbering, the total sum of libraries named in R. is 182, or 183 counting Burgus S. Petri; in T. 185, in B. 193.

When we examine the list of names we find, I think, that the worst mistakes occur in 3 D 1, and that, on the whole, T. is inferior to R. and B. in accuracy. There are places in B. in which one suspects Tanner's transcript rather than his archetype of being in fault, *e.g.*, 16 Prioratus Roberti for Pons Roberti. It is plain, too, that Tanner has sometimes altered the mediæval spelling to that of his own time, in Barnabæ, Mariæ, etc.; but the general faithfulness of his copy need not be doubted.

As to individual names. Taking the Custodies as they occur, that of London contains but one entry that is at all doubtful, 18 Novus locus, and I can have no doubt myself that this is Newark on the Wey *alias* Aldbury in Surrey.

In *Sarum*, 31 S. Barnabæ is an alternative name, according to Tanner's *Notitia*, for Hyde Abbey or Newminster. Any dedication to S. Barnabas (now such a popular recipient) is a rarity in mediæval times. 32 S. Marie Wynton, which would now mean Winchester College or New College, is here no doubt the very much older Benedictine nunnery of Winchester called Nunnaminster.

R. T. 36 Monasterium Heros (Tanner in the *Bibl.* adds sive Hederos), B. 36 Herles, does suggest a doubt. Might not Herles stand for Hurley (Berks.), a cell to Westminster? I do not think so. Tanner (*Notitia*) gives Monasterium Hederosum as the proper name of Ivychurch, Wilts. Regarded as a rendering of the English name it is a blunder, for Ivychurch means, in fact, the Church of S. Iwig, an obscure Winchester saint. But, geographically, Ivychurch and not Hurley is suitable

to this place in the list. Berkshire belongs to the next Custody, that of Oxford.

In *Oxon.* 54 Cheleford is a very obscure place, doubtless Shelford in Notts.

60 Banchewelle Sankwale, Bankewale, Blanchewelle, I had thought was Bakewell, but no trace of a monastic or collegiate establishment there can I find. In default, Sandwell (O.S.B. priory, Staffs.) is suggested. However, the only authority for the initial S is 3 D 1, which is the least trustworthy of all.

61 Burgh, Burch. Something has been said of this. I am sure that R. intended Peterborough, and I think it can be shown that this was Boston's usual name for Peterborough. What T. understood by it is uncertain. A house Brooke in Rutland, to which S. Tibba's bones were translated, is possible. It was an Augustinian priory, a cell to Kenilworth.

I see nothing to remark upon in *Cambridge*, but attention should be called, in *Bristol*, to 102 S. Augustini *pre* bristoll (3 D 1). The preposition *pre* may be wrong for *prope*, or may have no business there. Peterhouse omits it.

105 Clamorgan I have little hesitation in equating with Margam, but I suppose Neath, not far off, is a possibility.

109 Lanton, Lantonia, is, of course, the New Llanthony in the outskirts of Gloucester, which has contributed so large a number of its MSS. to the Lambeth Library.

In *Worcester* it is curious to see 112 S. Wolstanus Wigorn as the name of the Cathedral, the main dedication of which is to the Virgin. It reads like a popular description, almost a nickname, of the church. The Hospital of S. Wulfstan, now the Commandery, cannot be supposed to have been preferred to the Cathedral whose library was so remarkable.

120 Planagustell, Planegustel is one of the most curious of the orthographies. Llanegwast or Llanegwist, *alias* de Valle Crucis, in Denbigh, answers all the conditions. Tne initial P may be an attempt to render the sound of Welsh ll: I do not know whether there are parallels to this.

In *York* 131 Hospitale Lincoln is doubtful. There were three: S. Sepulchre, described as Gilbertine, S. Mary Magdalene, and S. Giles; none of these seems to be important.

136 Lusa, Luya (Louth Park). Does the y represent a *þ*?

138 Gorynton, Gromton (?), Thornton, Toringtone are notable. Thornton priory, however, is not a doubtful claimant.

141 S. Oswaldi. Two claimants, Bardney Abbey, Lincs., and Nostell Priory, Yorks., are forthcoming. The former was the more important, and was more specially the shrine of S. Oswald.

In *Newcastle* the names of the seven Scotch houses, 152 to 158, have been disfigured more than most, as was natural considering their remoteness. But a good many references to them occur in the text.

166 Heyrdlysham, Hechesham, Heclesham, Helmdesham vel Heclesham. One wonders that the old name Hextildesham should not be better represented.

167 Cerne, in Dorset, is evidently an afterthought or a late comer.

168-175 (B.) Boston's own additions. It is here only that Friars' houses are mentioned. We know that the Grey Friars of Oxford inherited Grosseteste's library, and that, no doubt, furnishes a reason for the inclusion of their house. The others are the Black and (most likely) the Austin Friars of Thetford, the near neighbour of Bury, and the Grey Friars of Babwell in the outskirts of Bury itself. For *minorum*, which, Tanner notes, is the reading of "MS. Twine" (whatever that means), is, of course, the correct reading, and not *monachorum*.

Though the matter is not strictly relevant to this article, I will take occasion to say that all three works, T., R., and B., are in a very incomplete state. In R. and T. a great many of the works named have no library reference attached to them. In B., where the number of authors' names is enormously increased (by the aid of sources

which have yet to be identified),[1] the library references are more regularly supplied, but in cases where R. and T. give a great many B. diminishes the number of them. More noticeable than this, from our point of view, is the fact that in R. and T. (and particularly in R.) a very large number of the libraries in this list are not referred to at all: 72 seem to be omitted by R., 59 or 60 by T., and about 34 by B. The largest number of omissions in R. and T. are in the Custodies of Oxford, Cambridge, Worcester, and York. B. supplies more gaps in the Cambridge custody than in any other.

The figures are, for the several Custodies:

London	R. omits	6,	B. supplies	5
Sarum	R. „	4,	B. „	2
Oxon.	R. „	16,	B. „	7
Cambridge	R. „	19,	B. „	12
Bristol	R. „	5,	B. „	2
Worcester	R. „	5,	B. „	1
York	R. „	14,	B. „	3
Newcastle	R. „	3,	B. „	2

Of the nine names added by Boston (168-175, 195) he has references to six.

It is difficult to arrive at certainty as to which houses are wholly omitted by all the authorities. The scope for error in writing the numbers is so large that where one finds but a single reference to a house the suspicion is justified that it is a mistake. However, a tentative list of the libraries which are either seldom or never mentioned will not be uninstructive.

2 S. Augustine's, Canterbury, though not wholly omitted, occurs far more seldom than one would have anticipated, in view of its importance and of the many references to Christ Church.

4 Faversham—occurs twice.

6 Boxley—twice.

[1] One such source was a biographical list of Dominican writers, which may be known to some reader of this article, but is not known to me. It was also employed by Philip Wolf, of Seligenstadt, as I have ascertained from a study of his list of Dominican writers printed by R. L. Poole in *English Historical Review*, 1910, p. 513.

7 Rochester—twice : again, curiously rare.
11 Westminster—twice.
14 Stratford—four times.
17 Bayham—never.
18 Newark—never.
29 Christchurch, Twynham—four times.
31 Hyde Abbey—once.
36 Ivychurch—0.
38 Oxford, S. Frideswide—0.
40 Abingdon—twice.
41 Thame—twice.
45 Wardon—once.
47 Bittlesden—0.
50 Pipewell—once.
52 Garendon—twice.
54 Shelford—once.
55 Thurgarton—thrice.
56 Newstead—once.
59 Dale—once.
60 Bakewell (?)—once.
62 Thorney—0.

From 60 to 78 there seem to be no references in R. and T., but some in B., except for :

70 Westacre—0.
72 West Dereham—0.
78 Leiston—0.

Again, 84 to 88 are almost destitute of references in R. and T.

87 Tiltey—0.
88 Dunmow—0.
91 Plympton—1.
102 Bristol Cathedral—0 (?)
106 Abbey Dore—0 (?)
110 Tewkesbury—0 (?)
112 Worcester Cathedral—0 ; a remarkable omission.
XVII (184) Wormley—0.
XXII (189) Montacute—0 (?)
121 Aberconway—1.
131 Lincoln Hospital—2.
132 Sempringham—1.
133 Revesby—0 (?)

From here to 150 the references are exceedingly sparse, and

136 Louth Park, 137 Grimsby, 140 Fountains, 141 Bardney, 144 Whitby, 146 Kirkham, 147 Spalding, 148 Thornholm, 149 Carlisle—all seem to be blank.

Boston omits of his own additions :

171 Thetford Austin Friars (?)
172 Thetford Priory.
195 Hinton Charterhouse.

The omissions of the lists themselves also merit a word. We have seen that houses of Friars are included only by Boston, and only four by him. It will be noticed that neither of the Universities and no College is mentioned. Of Cathedrals, York, Lichfield, and the four Welsh ones seem to be the only omissions. Other Collegiate churches and non-monastic establishments are absent, unless Bakewell and the Hospitals of Lincoln are exceptions. But of monasteries we miss a number of well-known names : Abbotsbury, Abergavenny, Belvoir, Bermondsey, Blythe, Bolton, Bourn, Bromholme, Byland, Chertsey, Dover, Haughmond, Hayles, Kirkstall, Lesnes, Malvern, Meaux, Milton, Netley, Salley, Selby, Shaftesbury (nuns), Tavistock, Walsingham, Welbeck, Whalley, Winchcombe, Worksop were all far more important than many of those included in the list ; they are not confined to one district, but are scattered up and down the country. Conjectures as to the reason of the omissions are useless at this stage.

Only when we have the full texts of the three documents before us shall we be able to trace the method in which the lists of books from the various monasteries were used. At present the observations that can be made are elementary. There is no geographical order or any other sort of order perceptible in the library references in R. and T. The commonest beginning appears to be one of the numbers about 160 : 163 Newminster perhaps has a majority. Another group sets off with No. 1 Canterbury Cathedral. Boston, who, as I have said, gives fewer

library references than R. and T., begins with 82 Bury, 83 S. John's Colchester, or 84 S. Botolph's Colchester, whenever he can.

Let me end with an entry taken almost at random from the list of S. Augustine's works.

De Pastoribus et ovibus lib. 2 (Inc.) Spes tota (Expl.) ad unitatem.

Libraries	R.	T.	B.	*Equivalents*
	163	—		163 Newminster
		164		164 Durham
	166	—		166 Hexham
	161	—		161 Gisburne
	158	—		158 Dunfermline
	156	—		156 S. Andrews
	105	—		105 Margam
	82	—	82	82 Bury
	89	—	89	89 Bodmin
	103	—	103	103 Malmesbury
	120	—	97	120 Valle Crucis
	9	—		97 Athelney
	15	—	104	9 Merton
	13	—	139	15 S. Albans
	1	—		13 Waltham
		20		1 Christ Church, Canterbury
	139	—		20 Lewes
	104	—		139 S. Mary's, York
	XIII	—		104 Cirencester
				XIII Bath

Here T. makes two additions to R. B. gives a much shorter list, of which all the items but one (97) are common to the others.

Here follows the best attempt I can make at an explanatory comparative text of the list of libraries. Be it noted, by way of addition to the other signs explained in the note at the head of the list, that the sign „ „ when found in the second or third column, means identity with the *preceding column* : when found in the last column it means identity with the entry *above it.*

+ means that the remains of the library are copious or remarkable; — that a few books from the house are known to me; o that I know of none; Cat. that a catalogue exists; (Cat.) that some old list of books bequeathed or belonging to it exists; * Names to which an asterisk is attached are mentioned in the introduction.

Registrum	Tabula A=3D1; B=Peterhouse 169	Boston	Modern Name	Order	Extant Books	County
Custodia London	*London*	[*om.*]				
Ecclesia Cantuar 1	Sancte Trinitatis Cantuarie 1	Cantuariæ Trinitatis 1	1. Canterbury Cathedral, Christchurch	OSB Priory	+Cat.	Kent
Sancti Augustini Cantuar 2	„ „ 2	Cantuariæ Augustini 2	2. Canterbury, St. Augustine's	OSB Abbey	+Cat.	„
Sancti Gregorii Cant. 3	„ „ 3	Cantuariæ Gregorii 3	3. Canterbury, St. Gregory's	Aug. Priory	—	„
ffauersham 4	ffeuersham 4	Faveresham 4	4. Faversham	OSB Abbey	—	„
Ledys 5	„ 5	Ledes 5	5. Leeds	Aug. Priory	—	„
Boxle 6	Roxlee A. Boxlee B. 6	Boxleye 6	6. Boxley	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Rofen' 7	Rowchestre A. Rouch B. 7	Rofa 7	7. Rochester Cathedral	OSB Priory	+Cat.	„
Le Batayle 8	De batayle A. le batayle B. 8	Batalie 8	8. Battle	OSB Abbey	+	Sussex
Merton 9	„ 9	Merthone 9	9. Merton	Aug. Priory	+	Surrey
Sancte Trinitatis London' 10	„ „ 10	London. Trinitatis 10	10. Holy Trinity, Aldgate	Aug. Priory	—	Midlx.
Westmon' 11	Westmonasterium 11	„ 11	11. Westminster	OSB Abbey	—	„
Sancta Maria ultra pontem 12	Sancte Marie oueres 12	Sancta Maria ultra pontem 12	12. Southwark (now Cathedral), St. Mary Overy	Aug. Priory	—	Surrey

Registrum		Tabula A=3D1; B=Peterhouse 169		Boston		Modern Name	Order	Extant Books	County
Custodia London		*London*		[*om.*]					
Waltham	13	(Waltam A.)	13	Waltham	13	13. Waltham Holy Cross	Aug. Abbey	+	Essex
Stratford	14	Stratfordia	14	Stratfordia	14	14. Stratford Langthorn	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Sancti Alban	15	Sanctus (Sancti A.) Albanus	15	S. Albanus	15	15. St. Albans	OSB Abbey	+	Herts.
Pons Roberti	16	„ „	16	Prioratus Roberti	16	16. Robertsbridge	Cist. Abbey	—	Sussex
Begham	17	Begheham	17	Bokenham	17	17. Bayham	Premonst.	—	Sussex
Nouus locus	18	„ „	18	„ „	18	18. Newark (Aldbury)	Aug. Priory	o	Surrey
Sancti Pauli London'	19	Sancti Pauli Londonie	22	London S. Pauli	19	19. London, St. Paul's Cathedral	Sec. Canons	+Cat.	Midlx.
Custodia Sarum		*Sarum*		[*om.*]					
Wauerle	19	Wauerlee	19	Waverleye	20	20 (19). Waverley	Cist. Abbey	+	Surrey
Lewys	20	Lewes	20	Lewes	21	21 (20). Lewes	Cluniac Pr.	o	Sussex
Cicestr'	22	Checestre A. Chicestre B.	21	Cicestria	22	22 (21). Chichester Cathedral	Sec. Canons	+	„
Sowyk	23	Suthwyk	23	Suthwych	23	23. Southwick (Porchester)	Aug. Priory	+	Hants.
Tychefend	24	Tychefende	24	Tichefeld	24	24. Titchfield	Premonst.	+Cat.	„
Quarera	25	„	25	Quareria	25	25. Quarre, Isle of Wight	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Bellus locus	26	„ „	26	„ „	26	26. Beaulieu	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Rumseya	27	Romisteya A. Romeseia B.	27	Ramesia	27	27. Romsey	OSB Nuns	—	„
Modefonte	28	Modeffante A. Modesfonte B.	28	Modesfonte	28	28. Mottisfont	Aug. Priory	o	„

S. Swythinus	30	S. Swithinus	30	S. Swithini	30	30. Winchester Cathedral	OSB Priory	+	„
S. Barnabas	31	„	31	S. Barnabæ	31	31.*Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Newminster	OSB Abbey	+	„
Sancte Marie Wynton'	32	(S. Maria A.)	32	S. Mariæ Winton	32	32.*Nunneminster, Winchester	OSB Nuns	—	„
Sanctus Dionisius	33	„ „	33	S. Dionysii	33	33. Southampton, St. Denis	Aug. Priory	o	„
Werewelle	34	(Where— B.)	34	Werewell	34	34. Wherwell	OSB Nuns	—	„
Sarum	35	„	35	Saresbiria	35	35. Salisbury Cathedral	Sec. Canons	+	Wilts.
Monasterium Heros	36	(Monest— A.)	36	Herles	36	36.*Ivychurch [1]	Aug. Priory	o	„
Custodia Oxon'		*Oxonia*		[*om.*]					
Osneya	37	„	37	Oseneya	37	37. Oseney	Aug. Abbey	—	Oxon.
S. Fredyswyda	38	S. Fredeswyda	38	S. Frideswita	38	38. Oxford (now Christ-Church Cathedral)	Aug. Priory	—	„
Eynysham	39	Eynesham	39	Eynesham	39	39. Eynsham	OSB Abbey	—	„
Abyndon	40	Abingdonia A. Abyng. B.	40	Abendonia	40	40. Abingdon	OSB Abbey	+	Berks.
Thame	41	„	41	„	41	41. Thame	Cist. Abbey	o	Oxon.
Radyngia	42	(—ie A.)	42	Radingia	42	42. Reading	OSB Abbey	+Cat.	Berks.
Wobourne	43	Woborne	43	Woburne	43	43. Woburn	Cist. Abbey	—	Beds.
Dunstaple	44	(Dunstanle A.)	44	Dunstable	44	44. Dunstable	Aug. Priory	—	„
Wardon	45	Wardone	45	Wardona	45	45. Wardon or De Sartis	Cist. Abbey	—	„

[1] Tanner (*Bibl. Brit.*) adds " sive hederosum " in brackets to " Heros," and in *Not. Mon.* gives " monast. hederosum " as an equivalent of Ivychurch.

Registrum		Tabula A=3D1 ; B=Peterhouse 169		Boston		Modern Name	Order	Extant Books	County
Custodia Oxon'		*Oxonia*		[*om.*]					
S. Neotus	46	„	46	„	46	46. St. Neots, Eynesbury	OSB Priory	—	Hunts.
Bytylsden	47	Bertisden A. Bitlisden B.	47	Bittlesdene	47	47. Bittlesden	Cist. Abbey	—	Bucks.
S. Andreas Norhamton	48	Si. Andree Norhamptonie	48	Northampton S. Andreæ	48	48. Northampton	Cluniac Pr.	—	Norths.
S. Iacobus Norhamton	49	Si. Iacobi ibidem	49	Northampton S. Jacobi	49	49. Northampton	Aug. Priory	o	„
Pypwelle	50	Pippewelle	50	Pipewelle	50	50. Pipewell	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Leycestr'	51	Leycestre	51	Leycestria	51	51. Leicester, St. Mary de Pré	Aug. Abbey	—Cat.	Leic.
Gerundona	52	Geromo A. Gemondona B.	52	Gerondona	52	52. Garendon	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Lentona	53	„	53	„	53	53. Lenton	Cluniac Pr.	—	Notts.
Cheleford	54	Clelfordia A. Chelefordia B.	54	Chelefordia	54	54.*Shelford	Aug. Priory	o	„
Thurgunton	55	Turkerton A. Thurkerton B.	55	Thurgertone	55	55. Thurgarton	Aug. Priory	—	„
Nouus locus	56	„ „	56	Novus locus	56	56. Newstead	Aug. Priory	—	„
Rucheford	57	Ruchford	57	Rucheforde	57	57. Rufford	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Crokeston	58	„	58	Crokestone	58	58. Croxton	Premonstr.	o	Leic.
La dale	59	„	59	„	59	59. Dale (Stanley Park)	Premonstr.	—	Derby
Banchewelle	60	Sankwale A. Bankewale B.	60	Blanchewelle	60	60. Bakewell (??)		o	„
						Sandwell (??)	OSB Priory	o	Notts.
						Beauvale (???)	Carth.	o	„
						61. *Peterborough	OSB Abbey	+Cat.	Norths.

Crowland	63	Crowlonde A. Crowlande B.	63	Croylande	63	63. Crowland	[illegible]	[illegible]
Burgus S. Petri		Burgus S. Petri	64	[*om.*]		64.*Peterborough		
Custodia Cantebregg'		*Cantabriggie*		[*om.*]				
Bernewelle	64	„	65	Bernewell	64	64 (65). Barnwell, Cambridge	Aug. Priory	—	Cambs
Rammesey	65	Ramseye	66	Ramesia	65	65 (66). Ramsey	OSB Abbey	+Cat.	Hants.
Ely	67	Hely	67		67	67. Ely Cathedral	OSB Priory	—	Cambs.
Walden	68	Waldenia	68	Walden	68	68. Saffron Walden	OSB Abbey	—	Essex
Huntyngdon	69	„	69	„	69	69. Huntingdon	Aug. Priory	—	Hunts.
Westacr'	70	Westakre	70	Westacre	70	70. Westacre	Aug. Priory	—	Norf.
Castelacr'	71	Castleacre (—atre A.)	71	Castleacre	71	71. Castleacre	Cluniac Pr.	o	„
Derham	72	„	72	„	72	72. West Dereham	Premonstr.	—	„
S.Trinitatis Norwic	73	„ Norwyc	73	Norwic. S. Trinitatis	73	73. Norwich Cathedral	OSB Priory	+(Cat.)	„
S. Benedicti de Holm	74	„ Hulm	74	S. Benedictus de Holm	74	74. St. Benet Hulme	OSB Abbey	o	„
Langeleya	75	Langleya	75	Langeley	75	75. Langley	Premonstr.	o	„
Blyburgh	76	(Blybugh A.)	76	Bliburgh	76	76. Blythburgh	Aug. Priory	o	Suffolk
Sipton	77	„	77	Sibbetone	77	77. Sibton	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Lenston	78	Lenston A. Leuston B.	78	Leystone	78	78. Leiston	Premonstr.	—	„
Butle	79	Burlee	79	Buteleye	79	79. Butley	Aug. Priory	o	„
S. Trinitatis Gipiswic	80	S.Trin. Gippewis A. (Gyp. B.)	80	Gypewic Trinitatis	80	80. Ipswich, Holy Trinity	Aug. Priory	o	„
S. Petri ibidem	81	„ „	81	Gypewic Petri	81	81. Ipswich St. Peter's	Aug. Priory	o	„
S.Edmundi de Bury	82	„ „	82	S. Edmundus de Bury	82	82. Bury St. Edmunds	OSB Abbey	+Cat.	„

Registrum	Tabula A=3D1 ; B=Peterhouse 169	Boston	Modern Name	Order	Extant Books	County
Custodia Cantebregg'	*Cantabriggie*	[*om.*]				
S. Iohannis Colcestr' 83	S. I. de Colchestre 83	Colcestriæ S. Johannis 83	83. Colchester, St. John's	OSB Abbey	+	Essex
S. Botulphi ibidem 84	„ „ 84	ColcestriæBotulphi 84	84. Colchester, St. Botolph's	Aug. Priory	—	„
S. Osythe 85	S. Osithe 85	S. Ositha 85	85. St. Osyth's, Chich.	Aug. Abbey	+	„
Cogyshale 86	Cogesale A. Cogg. B. 86	Cogeshale 86	86. Coggeshall	Cist. Abbey	+	„
Tyltylteghe 87	Tylthey A. Tylteye B. 87	Tilteya 87	87. Tiltey	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Dunmowe 88	Dummowe 88	Dummowe 88	88. Dunmow (Gt)	Aug. Priory	o	„
Custodia Bristol	*Bristollia*	[*om.*]				
Bothm̄ 89	Bothmyn 89	Bommeneye 89	89. Bodmin	Aug. Priory	—	Cornw.
Lancneton 90	Launseton A. —toun B. 90	Lancenetone 90	90. Launceston	Aug. Priory	o	„
Plumton 91	Plimton A. Plymton B. 91	Plomtone 91	91. Plympton	OSB Priory Alien	o	Devon
Duncawill 92	Dunconil A. Duncauyll B. 92	Duncawile 92	92. Dunkeswell	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Bucfestare 93	Benesestare A. Bucsestare B. 93	Buckfestar 93	93. Buckfastleigh	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Foorde 94	Forde 94	Forda 94	94. Ford	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Ecson 95	Excestre 95	Exonia 95	95. Exeter Cathedral	Sec. Canons	+Cat.	„
Tanton 96	Taunton 96	Tantonia 96	96. Taunton	Aug. Priory	o	Som.
Alyngha 97	Alnigeleya A. Alnygeleya B. 97	Alingeleya 97	97. Athelney	OSB Abbey	o	„

		Glasconia B.					
Toton	99	Totonia	99	Totonia	99	99. Totnes	OSB Priory	o	Devon.
Thore	101	„	101	Tore	101	101. Torre	Premonstr.	o	„
S.Augustini Brystol	102	S.Aug. *pre* bristoll A. S. Aug. bristollie B.	102	Bristollia, S. Augustini	102	102.*Bristol (Cathedral)	Aug. Abbey	—	Som.
Malmesberia	103	Malmesburia A. —ya B.	103	Malmesbira	103	103. Malmesbury	OSB Abbey	+	Wilts.
Sirencestr'	105	Cunicistria Curncestria B.	104	Cirencestria	104	104 (105). Cirencester	Aug. Abbey	+	Glouc.
[*om.*]		Clamorgan	105	Clammorgan	105	105.*Margam or perhaps Neath	Cist. Abbey	+	Glam.
Doore	106	Doore	106	Dore	106	106. Abbey Dore	Cist. Abbey	—	Heref.
Wygemore	107	„	107	Wigemore	107	107. Wigmore	Aug. Abbey	+	„
S.Petri Glounernie	108	S. Petri Glowcestrie A. Glou— B.	108	Glovernia S.Petri	108	108. Gloucester (Cathedral)	OSB Abbey	+(Cat.)	Glouc.
Lanton	109	Lantonee	109	Lantonia	109	109.*Lanthony-by-Gloucester	Aug. Priory	+Cat.	„
Teukesbury	110	„	110	Teukesbiria	110	110 Tewkesbury	OSB Abbey	—	„
Baton	xiij	Bathonia	xiij	Bathonia	180	xiij 180. Bath	OSB Abbey	+	Som.
S. Cutlaci Herford	xiiij	S. Cuthlaci Herfordie	xiiij	Herefordia Curlaci	181	xiv 181. Hereford, St. Guthlac	OSB Priory, cell to Gloucester	—	Heref.
Ecclesia Cathedralis Herford	xv	Ecclesia cathedralis ibidem	xv	Herefordia cathedr. ecclesia	182	xv 182. Hereford Cathedral	Sec. Canons	+	„

The number 100 is omitted in R.T.B.

Registrum	Tabula A=3D1 ; B=Peterhouse 169	Boston		Modern Name	Order	Extant Books	County
Custodia Bristol	*Bristollia*	[*om.*]					
Leminstr' xvj	Leumnstria A. Lemnistria B. xvj	Leministria	183	xvj 183. Leominster	OSB Priory, cell to Reading	—	Heref.
Wermer xvij	Bermeleya A. Werm— B. xvij	Wermeleya	184	xvij 184. Wormley	Aug. Priory	o	„
Brekynnow xviij	Brekeynowz xviij	Brekennow	185	xviij 185. Brecon	OSB Priory	o	Brec.
Clyfford xix	Clufordia A. Cliff— B. xix	Clifordia	186	xix 186. Clifford	Cluniac Pr.	o	Heref.
Wytharvel Carusie veteris xx	Witham Cartusie veteris xx	Witham Cartusæ veteris	187	xx 187. Witham	Carthusian	+(Cat.)	Som.
Sireburn xxj	Schireborne xxj	Schireburne	188	xxj 188. Sherborne	OSB Abbey	—	Dorset
De Monte Acuto xxij	Mountacutus A. Montis acuti B. xxij	De monte acuto	189	xxij 189. Montacute	Cluniac Pr.	o	Som.
Muchelnie xxiij	Muchelnee xxiij	Muchelnie	190	xxiij 190. Muchelney	OSB Abbey	—	„
Goldclyne xxiiij	Golcheffe A. Golcliffe B. xxiiij	Goltclive	191	xxiv 191. Goldcliff	OSB Priory, alien cell to Bec.	o	Mon.
Bradenystoke xxv	Bradnestoke xxv	Bradenstok	192	xxv 192. Bradenstoke	Aug. Priory	—	Wilts.
Standleye xxvj	Stanleys A. Stanleye B. xxvj	Stanlie	193	xxvj 193. Stanley	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Farleye xxvij	Farleye v., A. Farleye B. xxvij	Farleya	194	xxvij 194. Farleigh	Cluniac Pr.	o	„
Flexlye v	[*om.*] A. Flexlye B. v	Flexleya	176	v 176. Flaxley	Cist. Abbey	—Cat.	Glouc.
Wellys vj	Wellis vj	Welles	177	vj 177. Wells Cathedral	Sec. Canons	—	Som.

S. Wolstanus Wigorn	112	„ „	112	Wigornia Wilstani	112	112.*Worcester (Cathedral)	OSB Priory	+	„
Pershore	113	Persthore A. Perschore B.	113	Persover	113	113. Pershore	OSB Abbey	—	„
Bordesley	114	Bordesleye	114	Bordesle	114	114. Bordesley	Cist. Abbey	—(Cat.)	„
Wenlak	115	„	115	Wenelach	115	115. Wenlock (Much)	Cluniac Pr.	—	Salop.
Saloppysbery	116	Schrobsbery	116	Salopia	116	116. Shrewsbury	OSB Abbey	—	„
Lylleshull	117	Lileshille	117	Lilleshulle	117	117. Lilleshull	Aug. Abbey	—	„
Cestria Abbacia	118	„ „	118	Cestriæ Abbatia	118	118. Chester (Cathedral)	OSB Abbey	—	Chesh.
Basyngwerlt	119	Wasyngwerlt (Basing— B.)	119	Basingweich	119	119. Basingwerk	Cist. Abbey	o	Flint.
Planagustell	120	„	120	Planegustel	120	120.*Llanegwast or de Valle Crucis	Cist. Abbey	o	Denb.
Aberkenewen	121	AberkannyWenA. Aberkemywin B.	121	Aberkunewon	121	121. Aberconway	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Delnacresse	122	Delancresse A. Deulacresse B.	122	Deulacresse	122	122. Dieulacres	Cist. Abbey	o	Staffs.
Crokysden	123	Crokesdone A. —dene B.	123	Crokesden	123	123. Croxden	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Mirewal	124	Miryuale A. Miriuale B.	124	Mirevallis	124	124. Merevale	Cist. Abbey	o	Warw.
Coventria	125	Coventre	125	Coventria	125	125. Coventry (Cathedral)	OSB Priory	—	„
Covmbe	126	Cowmbe A. Coumbe B.	126	Cumbe	126	126. Combe	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Standle	127	Stanle	127	Stanle	127	127. Stoneleigh	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Kenelworth	128	(Kenell— B.)	128	Kelineworthe	128	128. Kenilworth	Aug. Abbey	—	„

Registrum	Tabula A=3D1; B=Peterhouse 169	Boston	Modern Name	Order	Extant Books	County
Custodia Wygorn	*Wygornia*	[*om.*]				
Burton 129	„ 129	Burtonia 129	129. Burton-on-Trent	OSB Abbey	—Cat.	Staffs.
Norton xj	„ xj	Nortone 178	xj 178. Norton	Aug. Priory	—	Chesh.
Bildewas xij	„ xij	Bildewas 179	xij 179. Buildwas	Cist. Abbey	+	Salop.
Custodia Eborac	*Eboracus*	[*om.*]				
Lincoln 130	„ 130	Lincolnia 130	130. Lincoln (Cathedral)	Sec. Canons	+Cat.	Lincs.
Hospitale Lincoln 131	„ 131	Hospitalis Lincoln 131	131.* ?	?		
Semplingham 132	Simpringham 132	Semplyngham 132	132. Sempingham	Gilbertine	—	„
Benesby 133	Benisby A. Beuesby B. 133	Revesby 133	133. Revesby	Cist. Abbey	o	„
Kyrkestede 134	Kyrkstede 134	„ 134	134. Kirkstead	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Torkeseye 135	„ 135	„ 135	135. Torksey	Aug. Priory	o	„
Lusa 136	Busa A. Lusa B. 136	Luya 136	136.*Louth Park	Cist. Abbey	+	„
Grymesby 137	Grimesbi A. Grymesby B. 137	„ 137	137. Grimsby	OSB Nuns	o	„
Gorynton 138	Gromton A.? Thornton B. 138	Torringtone 138	138.*Thornton	Aug. Abbey	—	„
S. Marie Eborac 139	„ 139	Eborac. S. Mariæ 139	139. York, St. Mary's	OSB Abbey	+	Yorks.
Fontenys 140	Funteynys 140	Funteygnes 140	140. Fountains	Cist. Abbey	+	„
S. Oswaldi 141	„ 141	„ 141	141.*Bardney	OSB Abbey	—	Lincs.
			or Nostell	Aug. Priory	o	Yorks.
Ryvall 142	Ryuallis A. Riuallis B. 142	Ryvalli 142	142. Rievaulx	Cist. Abbey	+Cat.	„
Bridlyngton 143	„ 143	Bridelington 143	143. Bridlington	Aug. Priory	—	„

Melton	145	„	145	Meltone	145	145.	Old Malton	Gilbertine	o	„
Kytkeham	146	Kyrkeham	146	Kirkeham	146	146.	Kirkham	Aug. Priory	—	„
Spaldyng	147	„	147	Spaldinges	147	147.	Spalding	OSB Abbey	—	Lincs.
Tornhome	148	Thornham	148	Thornhom	148	148.	Thornholm, Thornham	Aug. Priory	—	„
Custodia Noui Castri		*Noui Castri*								
Carleolum	149	Carleolum	149	Harleolum	149	149.	Carlisle (Cathedral)	Aug. Priory	—	Cumb.
Holyncostram	150	Holmcoltram	150	Holmcoltram	150	150.	Holmcultram	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Fornays	151	„	151	Fornayse	151	151.	Furness	Cist. Abbey	—	Lancs.
Gedeworye	152	Tedeworthe (—worth B.)	152	Gedesworth	152	152.	Jedburgh	Aug. Abbey	—	Roxb.
Kelcon	153	Kelcon A. Kelcou B	153	Kelcom	153	153.	Kelso	Order of Tiron	o	„
Melros	154	„	154	„	154	154.	Melrose	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Newbotle	155	Newbothe A. —botle B.	155	Neubotle	155	155.	Newbattle	Cist. Abbey	—	Edinb.
De S. Andrea	156	„ „	156	„ „	156	156.	St. Andrews	Aug. Priory	—	Fife
De S. Cruce	157	„ „	157	„ „	157	157.	Holyrood	Aug. Abbey	—	Edinb.
Dunfermyn	158	Dumfermin	158	Dumfermyn	158	158.	Dunfermline	OSB Abbey	—	Fife
S. Agathe	159	„	159	„	159	159.	Easby, St. Agatha's	Premonstr.	—	Yorks.
Jorevall	160	Joreuallis	160	Jorevallis	160	160.	Jervaulx	Cist. Abbey	—	„
Gisbourne	161	Gisborne	161	Giseborne	161	161.	Gisburn	Aug. Priory	—	„
Tynnemowth	162	Ginemowth A. Tynemouthe B.	162	Tynemutha	162	162.	Tynemouth	OSB Priory, cell to St. Albans	—	Northd.
Novum Monasterium	163	„ „	163	„ „	163	163.	Newminster	Cist. Abbey	o	„

Registrum	Tabula A=3D1; B=Peterhouse 169	Boston	Modern Name	Order	Extant Books	County
Custodia Noui Castri	*Noui Castri*					
Dunelm 164	„ 164	Dunelmia 164	164. Durham (Cathedral)	OSB Priory	+Cat.	Durh.
Brynkbourne 165	Brinkborne A. 165 Brinke— B.	Bringeborne 165	165. Brinkburne	Aug. Priory	o	Northd.
Heyrdlysham 166	Hechesham A. 166 Heclesham B.	Helmdesham vel Heclesham 166	166. Hexham	Aug. Priory	+	„
S. Marie de Cern 167	S. M. de Cern̄ 167	Cern S. Mariæ 167	167. Cerne Abbas	OSB Abbey	+	Dorset
		Fratrum Minorum Oxon. 168	168. Oxford, Grey Friars	Franc. Conv.	+	Oxon.
		Yxworth 169	169. Ixworth	Aug. Priory	—?	Suffolk
		Fratrum Prædic. Theffordiæ 170	170. Thetford, Black Friars	Dominican Conv.	o	Norf.
		Fratrum 171	171.*(?)Thetford, Austin Friars	Aug. Friars Conv.	o	„
		Theffordia Monachorum 172	172. Thetford	Cluniac Pr.	—?	„
		Batewelle Monachorum (Minorum MS. Twine)[1] 173	173.*Babwell by Bury St. Edmunds	Franc. Conv.	—	Suffolk
		Colne 174	174. Earls Colne	OSB Priory	o	Essex
		Berkynge 175	175. Barking	OSB Nuns	—	„
		For Nos. 176–194 *vide supra*	176–7=v, vj: 178–9 *above* =xj, xij: 180–194 195 Hinton Charterhouse	Carthus.	—	xiij–xxvij Som.

[1] The reference to MS. Twine is not explained, but the reading quoted is right.

V. *Additional Material for the History of the Grey Friars, London.* By C. L. Kingsford.

INTRODUCTION

THE principal part of the additional material for the history of the Grey Friars of London comes from the wills of persons who were buried in the Church and its precincts. Most of these wills were proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, but a considerable number come from the Registers of the Commissary of London and the Archdeacon of London, and a few from other sources.[1] The wills from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury it is believed include all the wills of persons buried at Grey Friars, together with a few others which, for one reason or another, appeared to be of sufficient interest to be noticed here. There are, in addition, a great number of wills in which the testators made bequests to the Friars for masses; but to trace and notice all these latter wills would have entailed labour entirely out of proportion to the value of any probable result; in "Rous" alone Mr. A. G. Little has noted more than twenty instances, and the total number between 1390 and 1540 would probably be several hundred. It is not possible in the absence of a printed calendar to be certain whether the selection of wills from the Registers of the Commissary of London and the Archdeacon of London is equally exhaustive. But those from the Commissary's Register are probably complete, whilst the Register of the Archdeacon for 1393 to 1415 is the only one before the Reformation which has been preserved.

Of the names here recorded nearly one half do not appear in the Grey Friars Register. Of these the greater number are of early date, and are of persons of little social importance whose tombs had probably been destroyed before the Register was compiled.[2] Other names—like that

[1] For many of the references other than to P.C.C. I am indebted to Mr. J. Challenor Smith, F.S.A., who has kindly put his extensive collections at my disposal.

[2] Out of the first fifty wills noted here (1374–1421) only sixteen are of persons whose names appear in the Register.

of Sir Henry Heydon in 1504—are probably those of persons whose intention to be buried here was not fulfilled. A few names are of later date than the compilation of the Register. In a few cases where the Register gave no date the date can now be supplied. Some of these, like John Portland in 1490, were additions, and so conjecturally of later date than 1529.[1] They now become evidence of the care bestowed on the perfection of the Register.

The completion of the Register might be regarded as the primary purpose of such a list as that here given. But, however interesting from one point of view the completion of the Register might be, the real value of these extracts lies in other directions. One may naturally give the first place to the information which they afford as to the actual burials and the attendant services. There was no doubt a fixed charge for a burial, and Thomas Huddylston, in 1506, directed that "such certain duty as is accustomed should be paid." The minimum charge would seem to have been 6*s.* 8*d.*, as in the cases of William Battisford in 1430, Gilbert Belamy in 1498, and Rowland Hevysonne in 1493; the last-named left 6*s.* 8*d.* "for my pit to be had." This seems to have been the common fee in other London churches during the fifteenth century. But, of course, larger sums were often paid to secure the prayers of the Friars, ranging from 20*s.* upwards, to include the actual burial; twenty shillings was perhaps the normal payment for burial, dirige and mass of requiem.[2] Persons of rank and wealth left much larger sums. Thus Edward Burnell, who was buried in the choir in 1386, left the Friars 40*l.*; Sir John Devereux in 1393 directed that 40 marks should be paid "pur mon sepulture"; William Chamberleyn in 1470 left 5*l.* for the work of S. Mary's Chapel, where he was buried; Sir John Clerk in 1481 left the Friars 4*l.*; and Sir John Blount in 1485 left 20*l.*, besides a chalice and a vestment. All these seem to have been bequests without any special condition. Other large bequests were to secure the

[1] *See* also the instance of J. Dureham on p. 78, ll. 13–18.
[2] *See* Joan Golding 1464 and John Wetwang 1464.

prayers of the Friars, like those of John Wydeslade in 1468 for 500 masses (5*l.* in all), of John Wardall in 1472, whose bequest of 10*l.* apparently secured a perpetual chantry, and of Richard Godfrey, who in 1500 bequeathed 20 marks for an obit by note yearly during twenty years. Of the actual funerals one of the most stately was that of Sir John Devereux in 1393, with its provision for tapers and torchbearers. In contrast to this was the direction of Sir John Blount in 1485 that there was to be "no grete pompyous herse about my body." The funeral of Sir Stephen Jenyns in 1523, for which 40 tapers were to be provided, must have been a costly one. The expenditure on torches and wax tapers was often considerable, but some or all of them were commonly left to be burnt afterwards during mass as long as they lasted. It was, however, on masses and religious services that money was chiefly expended. The most elaborate, though not the most costly, provision is perhaps that contained in the will of William Kebyll in 1510. Other interesting wills of this kind are those of John Fernandes in 1484, who was to be buried in "an abite of the most poorest frere," and made provision for month-mind and twelve-month mind; of Elizabeth Uvedale in 1488, who left 100*l.* for a perpetual mass and obit; of John Talley, who left 10*l.* in 1509 for special services during three years after his death; and of Stephen Lynne in 1529, whose obit was to be kept for eight years. Though different in character, mention must be made of the direction of John Att Woode in 1489, that the costly mortuary cloth which he ordered to be provided for his Fraternity at S. Sepulchre's should be brought every year to the Grey Friars and laid on his herse at his year's mind. Nor can reference be omitted to the provision which James Wylford made in 1527 for a sermon to be preached annually by one of the Friars at the Church of S. Bartholomew the Little on Good Friday.

It is noteworthy that there is no sign in the wills of any decay in religious observance up to the very eve of the Reformation. Indeed, the two latest wills, those of Elizabeth Copley and Ann Lego, which were not

proved till after the Surrender, are amongst the most careful; but in Elizabeth Copley's direction that she was to be prayed for "according to the laudable custome and use" there is perhaps a conscious echo of change. One feature in the wills which grows more common towards the latter part of the period is the direction that the Friars were to fetch the body to burial, either from the home of the dead or from the parish church where a previous service was held. The earliest instance seems to be that of John Babande in 1457, who was to be fetched from his parish church. Others are those of Joan Golding in 1464, Roger Spencer in 1492, and William Gage and Thomas Butside in 1497. The will of John Robynson in 1511 is an interesting and exceptional instance, since his home was at Battersea and the corpse was to be brought by water to Broken Wharf, where it was to be met by the four orders of Friars and the priests of Pappey. The ordinary payment to include "fetching" seems to have been 40*s.*; though Richard Parys in 1483 paid only 6*s.* 8*d.* for burial, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for fetching, dirige and requiem; and Thomas Hewett in 1533 paid 6*s.* 8*d.* for fetching. The attendance of Friars at funerals was, of course, usual. Thomas Cornton in 1410 left each of the Friars that bore him to the church 12*d.* John Pette in 1522 willed that the Grey Friars and Black Friars should be at his burying, "for I am a brother of either religion." James Wylford in 1527, though, like Pette, he was not buried at Grey Friars, left 40*s.* to the Friars to come to his burying and to say placebo, dirige, and mass in their own church. Similar instances are those of Richard Triplarde in 1498 and Richard Hanchett in 1526. The priests of Pappey are often associated with the Friars in this service.[1] It is remarkable that no reference to the Third Order occurs in these wills.

The provision for tombs and tombstones is, of course,

[1] In connection with this subject of religious observance and commemoration it may be noted that the Craft of Purcers had a solemn mass yearly at Greyfriars, on Trinity Sunday, when every brother was to offer a penny and every sister a halfpenny. *Letter Book*, L, p. 253.

a feature in some wills. The earliest is that of Thomas Cornton in 1410, who directed a marble stone with scripture to be put on his tomb at a cost of not more than 26*s.* 8*d.* The same amount was paid by Stephen Kelk in 1501 for a marble stone. John Wardall in 1472, and Robert Orchard in 1473, both left directions for memorial tablets to be put on the wall near their tombs. Thomas Butside in 1497 directed a plate with scripture to be put on the wall or a pillar. Thomas Dagworthe in 1474 had a stone with images of himself, his two wives, and seventeen children. Thomas Grayson in 1502 ordered a stone graven with an image a yard long, closed in a sheet knit at both ends. Instances of brasses are those of John Robynson in 1511 and George Barett in 1525. Sir Thomas Lucy's monument in 1527 also had pictures of himself, his wife and children, and was probably a brass. John Tresawell in 1520 gave directions for a graven stone. More elaborate tombs were those of Thomas Gloucester in 1447, John Talley in 1509, who directed 10*l.* to be spent, and William Kebyll in 1510. The directions in Kebyll's will show that provision for a tomb was sometimes made beforehand, and this also appears from the wills of William Maryner in 1512, Richard, Lord Willoughby, in 1513, and Sir Stephen Jenyns in 1523.

Incidentally the wills throw a good deal of light on the fittings and ornaments of the Friars Church. Our knowledge of the actual plan was so complete that we should not expect to add anything material. John Bailley in 1420 refers to Hatton Auter, which was apparently at the west end of S. Francis Chapel, and had perhaps been endowed through Friar Thomas Hatton.[1] The All-hallows Chapel is called the Vestry Chapel in the will of Richard, Lord Willoughby, in 1513, and the Chapel of S. Mary is described by Roger Spencer in 1492 as the Chapel of S. Barnardyne ; there may have been a second altar in this chapel, as in that of S. Francis, but perhaps the direction given by Thomas Battell in 1468 that he should be buried before the image of S. Bernardine in

[1] " Qui multa bona facit in conventu," *Grey Friars*, p. 95.

the chapel on the north part of the choir furnishes a sufficient explanation of the alternative name. In 1478 John Lethum, a baker, directed that he should be buried before the Altar of S. Clement, which was apparently in the same enclosure as S. Mary Altar; Nicholas Bray, another baker, whose will was proved in 1449, also refers to the Altar of S. Clement; both Lethum and Bray made bequests to the Fraternity of S. Clement of the Craft of Bakers; Bray specifically associates the Fraternity with Greyfriars—this appears to be the only Fraternity in connection with the Grey Friars Church of which we have record.[1] In the will of Anne Lucas in 1524 the Altar of S. Mary is described as the morrow-mass altar; perhaps the mass of requiem was commonly celebrated there. The screen between the Altars and the Nave proper is several times referred to as the Valence,[2] and is probably intended by the "bars" in the will of William Asshe in 1406.

In the Nave we are able to fix exactly the position of the Pulpit, which, from the wills of Thomas Roos and William Robynson in 1529, appears to have been against the first pillar of the Nave proper on the north side; on the south side of that pillar Mr. Shepherd's plan of the tombs shows a void space, where it is probable that the Pulpit stood. It is no doubt this pillar that Alice Lucas in 1524 described as standing within "burdes and pykes"; she may have meant either the Pulpit itself or a railing round it; supposing that the Pulpit was only a boarded platform with a rail round about the pillar, the description would be reasonable enough.

The position of the Organ is given in the will of Nicholas Pembyrton in 1519, who was to be buried on the north side of the Choir in our Lady Chapel by the Organs. We know that Pembyrton's tomb was towards the west end of the Chapel of S. Mary.

In two wills we get two references to a window.

[1] There were a number of Fraternities at White Friars and Austin Friars.

[2] Wills of M. Yonge (1501) and W. Aleyn (1510).

Richard Hallam in 1419 directed that he should be buried opposite the window of S. Christopher, which is fixed by the position of his tomb to be the 5th window from the east in the north aisle of the Nave. The same window is described in 1473, by Robert Orchard, as having been set up by his grandfather, Thomas Cavendish, who appears as the donor in the Grey Friars Register.

The wills contain mention of a variety of ornaments in the Church. Alexander Crayke in 1465 desired to be buried before the Cross in the body of the Church. In fifteen wills there are references to Images of the Virgin, of which there must have been at least five. In six instances the reference is clearly to Our Lady of Pity, which from the Register would seem to have been set up by John Arnold, who died in 1492 and was buried under the wall against the first part of the 3rd window in the north aisle of the Nave.[1] From the position of his tomb it would be natural to conjecture that the image was against the wall between the 2nd and 3rd windows. But the will of Alice Lucas in 1524 makes it clear that the Image of Our Lady of Pity stood on the right hand of the entry to the Altar of S. Mary. This is confirmed by the wills of Gilbert Belamy in 1498, Robert White in 1521, and William Thomas in 1530. Lucas, Belamy, White, and Thomas all lay within a short distance of this point, and Ralph Hudson was buried in 1494 on the south side of this bay.[2] The sixth will which makes mention of Our Lady of Pity is that of John a Cleton in 1505; but in his case we do not know the position of the tomb. There was another Image of the Virgin in the north aisle, which is mentioned in the will of William Hoton in 1447; Hoton is probably the person of that name who was

[1] *Grey Friars*, p. 119. This is, of course, the second window west of the Altars. I assume that Arnold's Image was Our Lady of Pity. It does not seem likely that there would have been two Images of the Virgin close together at this end of the Aisle, and the Register seems to mark Arnold's Image as one of special note.

[2] *Grey Friars*, pp. 117–19. It will be noted that the references to Our Lady of Pity are all of later date than the death of John Arnold.

buried in the 3rd bay of the north aisle towards the south-west corner. In the same bay but a little further east lay William Gee, who was buried in 1485. Both Hoton and Gee were to be buried " coram imagine beate Marie " ; the position of this Image may possibly have been on the east side of the 3rd column. Baldwin Payne in 1463 directed that he should be buried in the north part of the church " coram imagine beate Marie de Graciis " ; the position of his tomb is unknown—the Image may perhaps be the one referred to by Hoton. In 1411 David Bardevyle directed that he should be buried before the Image of the Virgin in the south part of the church ; the position of the tomb is again unknown, but the Image is clearly distinct from Hoton's. Joan Golding, who died in 1464, desired to be buried before the Image of Our Lady, and George Belton in 1473 was to be buried in the Nave before the Image of Blessed Mary commonly called of Maurice Poyns. The positions of the tombs are again unknown, but the Images may perhaps be identified with either Hoton's or Bardevyle's. Margaret Yonge in 1501 was to be buried " afore the ymage of our Lady within the valens " ; she lay immediately within the screen before the Jesus Altar ; this Image might be the same as Bardevyle's or Golding's, though Bardevyle's was more probably in the Nave proper. The fifth Image was in the Chapel of S. Mary ; Joan Elveden in 1421 left a circlet of silver-gilt set with gems to be placed on the head of the Virgin, where her body lay buried ; her tomb was in the 5th bay of the Choir in S. Mary's Chapel. In 1464 Maud Lawrence directed that she should be buried near the High Altar before the Image of Blessed Mary ; the position of her tomb is not known, but it is unlikely that it was in the high choir, and the reference is probably to Joan Elveden's Image.

There was an Image of S. Francis near the High Altar, to which reference is made in the will of the Duchess of Buckingham in 1531. The Image of S. Bernardine in the Lady Chapel has already been mentioned.[1] An

[1] Page 65.

Image of S. Christopher is mentioned in the wills of Richard Covyntre in 1406 and James Gyfford in 1473; in neither case is the position of the tomb known; possibly the Image was in the same bay of the North Aisle as the window of S. Christopher. William Hoton in 1447 directed that he should be buried in the North Aisle before the Images of the Blessed Mary and S. James; his tomb was in the 3rd bay. Hugh Acton in 1530 directed that he should be buried before the picture of S. Mary Magdalen in the South Aisle of the Choir; his tomb was in the 6th bay in S. Francis Chapel. In 1474 Thomas Dagworthe directed that he should be buried "on the north side . . . before the Image of S. Erasmus"; in 1533 Thomas Hewett was to be buried in the Nave, where there was "a tablet of S. Erasmus on the north side as you come out of the west door." In both the reference was probably to the same object, which from Hewett's description would seem to be one of the alabaster tablets which were so noteworthy a product of English art in the fifteenth century; the martyrdom of S. Erasmus was a favourite subject for these tablets.[1]

Bequests of vestments or of the material for vestments are, of course, not infrequent. Instances are those of Alice Fitz Rauff in 1471, Richard Kesteyn in 1473, Walter, Lord Mountjoy, in 1474, his son, Sir John Blount, in 1485, and Elizabeth Uvedale in 1488. John Crowland in 1485 left a banner cloth for the Cross, and William Brereton in 1488 an altar cloth for the Common Altar. The most noteworthy bequests of jewels are those by Joan Elveden in 1421 of a circlet for the Image of the Virgin, and by Lawrence Fyncham of a jewel worth 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1481. Alice Fitz Rauff in 1471 left her silver candlesticks, Elizabeth Uvedale in 1488 a chalice and two cruets of silver for the Altar of S. Mary, and William Kebyll in 1510 a mazer, the last-named being in part payment for his tomb.

References to buildings other than the church are, perhaps naturally, not very frequent. There are several

[1] *English Mediæval Alabaster Work*, pp. 55–57 and 65, Plate XIII.

bequests for repairs or the work of the church,[1] but the only specific ones are those of William Maryner in 1512 of 10*l.* for the reparation and paving (the pavement is known to have been repaired about this time), and of Nicholas Newton in 1537 of 10*s.* for the reparation of the Library, as in glazing. The will of Margaret Yonge in 1501 contains a bequest of a garnish of pewter and other articles to the Ostrye, which is perhaps the only specific mention of the Guest-house that we have; she also bequeathed a number of utensils to the kitchen. Amongst the early burials there are a few which were to be outside the church: William Conyngrove in 1410, Alice Northfolke in 1412, and William Michell in 1446 were to be buried in the cloister. Three burials were to be in the cemetery, viz., Richard Barton 1406, Walter Elys 1409, and Lawrence Gorlefen 1417; presumably these were in the churchyard, but the similar direction by Robert Houghton in 1493 apparently referred to the Nave. Barton's will is noteworthy, since his burial was to be in the cemetery before the image of S. Francis; this we may, perhaps, feel assured refers to a statue in the churchyard outside the west door. John Bayle in 1446 was buried in the cemetery at the west end of the church. Thomas Dolphyn in 1521 specifically directed that he should be buried in the green churchyard; and Alice Baynton in 1527, that she was to be buried in the green cloister.

The mention of individual Friars as spiritual advisers, or as executors or witnesses of wills, or as ones whose prayers are specially desired, furnishes us with a number of new names. Five wills are also of importance for the information they contain as to the succession of Guardians. But these matters will be better dealt with later on.

In addition to the extracts from wills, four other documents bearing on the history of Greyfriars, London, are here printed. The first [2] is a Petition in Chancery seeking redress for a robbery from Friar Geoffrey Torre,

[1] Aleyn 1463, Chamberleyn 1470, Godfrey 1500.

[2] Pages 142–3.

who when at Royston on 20 May, 1394 (apparently collecting some payments due to his house), was set on, beaten, and robbed of 20*s*. in money. The incident may perhaps illustrate the unpopularity of the mendicant friars at the close of the fourteenth century.

The second document[1] is also a Petition in Chancery, the date of which can be fixed to 1433-6. Apart from its immediate purpose, which was to recover money left to the Convent by a penitent ex-friar, the document has a little interest as containing a reference to the occupation of the Friars' Houses by the Queen, probably Joan of Navarre.

The third document[2] is the Notarial Instrument certifying the Agreement for Masses made with William Cantelowe in 1458.[3] In itself it is of little importance, but it is of great interest as giving a complete list of the Friars present in the London House on 27 March, 1460. The total number is 34; this is a great falling off from the fourteenth century, when the numbers ranged between 60 and 90. With the exception of the Deed of Surrender it is the only instance of a complete list of the Friars that we possess. It adds a number of new names, and in several instances gives dates where previously we had only the names. It shows also that John Kyrye was Guardian as late as 1460, and adds William Goddard to the list of known "Custodes Londonie."

The fourth document[4] is a Petition in Chancery by Eryk de Vedica, a physician and a Friar of the London house, and James Walle, the Warden or Guardian. The main interest of the document is for other than Franciscan history. But for us it is of value as showing that a Friar might practise medicine and take a fee, and as fixing approximately the date at which Walle was Guardian.

Before turning to the additions which can be made to the list of Friars of the London House[5] I will deal with certain corrections which can be made in the List of

[1] Pages 143–4. [2] Pages 145–7. [3] *Grey Friars*, pp. 208–11.
[4] Pages 147–9. [5] *Grey Friars*, pp. 62–9.

Guardians.[1] We now know that John Kyrye was Guardian as late as 1460. We are told that he was Guardian "interpellatim per viginti annos." Perhaps the most likely meaning of this is that he actually held the office for twenty years, but with one or more intervals.[2] He was certainly Guardian in 1440, and perhaps a year or two earlier. Kyrye may have retained the office for some little time after 1460; he is referred to in the will of John Aleyn on 4 August, 1463, simply as "magistrum Johannem Kyrry, sacre theologie doctorem"; but neither this nor the reference by William Gregory in 1465 to "frere kiry, frere menour" is conclusive that he was not Guardian in 1463 or 1465. However, it is not likely that he retained the office till his death in 1474.

In the list of Guardians I conjectured that James Walle might have succeeded Kyrye. Walle was consecrated Bishop of Kildare on 5 April, 1475, and his tenure of office as Guardian must no doubt be put either before or after that date. We now know that he was Guardian at some time between 1475 and 1480, the period during which Thomas Rotherham was Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor, with a possible alternative for 1483-5, when John Russell was Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor.[3] Since Walle held various livings from 1483 onwards, and was suffragan of London in 1491, it is probable that the extreme limits of his term were 1476 and 1483. Thus, however, there must have been a Guardian between Kyrye and Walle. John Allen is referred to in his father's will in 1463 as "in sacra theologia inceptorem," and by John Baldewyne in 1469 as "Magister doctor Johannes Aleyn." It is possible that he may have preceded Walle, though having regard to his standing in 1463 it is more likely that he was not Guardian till after 1480. He had probably vacated his office before his death, since he is described as "quondam gardianus"

[1] *Grey Friars*, pp. 53–62.

[2] If it meant twenty years including intervals, 1440 and 1460 would be the extreme limits of date.

[3] Page 147.

in the Register, which no doubt quotes the inscription. If Shrewsbury is accepted as Guardian, Allen may have succeeded him in 1487. William Goddard the younger, who died in 1485, is described as "gardianus loci"; this may mean that he was Guardian at the time of his death, in which case he succeeded Walle. On the other hand, it is possible that Goddard succeeded Kyrye; it is to be noted that he is senior to Walle in the list of 1460. Allen might then have held office for the whole term between Walle or Shrewsbury and Bavard. Bavard's name appears in the list of 1460, and also in the will of George Belton in 1473; these references have, however, no bearing on his office as Guardian. Bavard is described in the Register as "gardianus loci," which may possibly mean that he held the office till his death.

From a reference to him in 1514 it had been supposed that Standish was at that time Guardian, but from the wills of John Talley and William Kebyll it is now clear that Standish was Provincial as early as 15 October, 1509, and Cutler Guardian of London as early as 9 August, 1509. It is, therefore, possible that Cutler succeeded Bavard in or before 1508. There is now no evidence that Standish was ever Guardian of London, though if Bavard resigned before his death Standish might have succeeded him. From the wills of Raffe Massey and Robert White we know that Cutler was Guardian on 6 April and 12 June, 1521. He is known also to have been Guardian in 1509, 1514, 1515, and 1518. In the will of Julyan Maryner, which is dated 21 Oct., 1516, Cutler is described as "late Wardayn of the Gray ffreers of London." It seems probable that he had two terms of office: the first from 1509 (or earlier) to 1515, and the second from 1518 to 1521 or 1524. He survived till 1530, and is described as "quondam gardianus." Walter Goodfield, who died on 27 Dec., 1521, is described in the Register as "gardianus loci"; if this is to be interpreted as meaning that he was Guardian at the time of his death he cannot have held the office for more than a very few months. More probably he was Guardian from 1515 to 1518. From

what we know of his previous history it is very unlikely that he was Guardian before Cutler's first term. From about 1440 onwards (and possibly earlier) the Guardians would seem to have held office for extended periods, and it is probable that the list of the later Guardians is complete, with the exception of the one between Kyrye's two terms[1] and perhaps his immediate successor.

As regards Friars of the London House the List of 1460 furnishes us with 22 new names and a date for four others for whom we had only the names. The wills and other documents supply 19 new names and the dates for two undated. For a number of other Friars there are additional dates, which are sometimes of interest or importance.

The new names, in alphabetical order, are as follows :

Antony of Cologne, 1460.

John Billyk, 1460; Thomas Bolton, 1460; John Boosgawyn (Boscawen), 1460; William Browe, 1385[2]; Robert Brown, 1460.

William Carpenter, 1460; Gerald de Crugiacha,[3] 1413.

Richard Elderden, 1460; John Eversham, 1460.

William Fabri,[4] 1390.

John Geffrey,[5] 1429; Giles,[6] 1382; John Gulle, 1460; John Gylle, 1460.

Ralph Hasilden,[7] D.D., 1501; Herman of Cologne, 1460; John Hervy,[8] 1510.

William Jonson, 1460.

[1] Either Seller or Westgate may have belonged to this period (see *Grey Friars*, p. 62). Neither appears in the list of 1460 on p. 145.

[2] Will of Hugh Mason.

[3] Will of Gaillard Denbidan, of Bordeaux.

[4] Will of William Ramundi of Aquitaine. He may probably be identified with the William Fabri who was provided to the bishopric of Perigueux in 1401 (*Cal. Pap. Reg.*, v, 454).

[5] Will of John Halman.

[6] Will of Paschasius de Ilardia of Navarre : describes Friar Giles as his confessor ; not certainly a London friar.

[7] Will of Margaret Yonge.

[8] Will of Thomas Pykeryng. Perhaps the John Harvey who was Guardian of Oxford in 1515 (Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 131).

William Kemys, 1460.

John Leghes,[1] 1393; John Litley, 1460.

— Marshall,[2] 1510; John Marsham, 1537.[3]

John Nicholas, 1460.

John Olyver,[4] *c.* 1435.

Thomas Pattyn, 1460; John Patyn,[5] 1439; James Payne,[6] 1529-30; John Pede, 1460.

Stephen Raaff, S.T.P., 1460; Edmund Rous,[7] 1406.

William Sergiant, 1460; Walter Spenser,[8] 1385–1406; Warren Sporil,[9] 1436; John Stanley, 1460; Henry Stanyng,[10] 1385.

Eryk de Vedica,[11] *c.* 1480.

John Weston, 1460; Henry Whithede, 1460; Thomas Wolor,[12] 1413.

The names which were previously undated are John Bavell,[13] 1393; John Egliston, 1460; Reginald Ewell,[14] 1452; John Hoode, 1460; William Roser, 1460; and Robert Yooll, 1460.

The following additional dates are of interest: Robert Chamberleyn occurs as late as 1408[15]; there is no evidence whether he was still Guardian. William Wolfe occurs in 1436, 1450, 1452, and 1456[16]; this may confirm the description of him in the Register as "doctor egregius, apud principes et nobiles magnifice acceptus."[17] He is styled doctor in 1452 and 1456; as William Wolfe

[1] Will of Maud Organ.

[2] Will of William Kebyll.

[3] Will of Ann Lego.

[4] *See* p. 143.

[5] Bequest in Will of Marmaduke Kirkeby: "fratri Johanni Patyn de ordine fratrum Minorum" (*Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 35).

[6] Wills of Thomas Roos, Stevyn Lynne, and Hugh Acton.

[7] Will of Richard Covyntre.

[8] Wills of Hugh Mason and Richard Covyntre.

[9] Will of Margaret Butvelyne. From his association with Wolfe, it may be conjectured that he was a London friar.

[10] Will of Hugh Mason.

[11] *See* p. 147.

[12] Will of Gaillard Denbidan.

[13] Will of Maud Organ.

[14] Will of Joan Neumarche.

[15] Will of R. Gest.

[16] Wills of M. Butvelyne, A. Cursy, Joan Neumarche, and Elizabeth Rikill.

[17] *Grey Friars*, p. 83.

priest, S.F.M., he had a dispensation to hold a benefice in 1454;[1] he was apparently—omitting Kyrye and William Goddard the elder—the senior friar of the London house in 1460. William Smyth, who died in 1496, and William Toly or Tholy, who died in 1500, go back to 1460.[2] Nicholas Newman, who was one of the friars who signed the Deed of Surrender in 1538, occurs in 1521.[3] The significance of new dates in the cases of Allen, Bavard, Cutler, Kyrye, and Standish has already been noted.

On 14 August, 1572, there was buried at Christchurch, Newgate Street, one "John Baker, an old priest who died in S. Bartholomew's."[4] There is no difficulty in identifying him with "John Bartilmewe, clerk and bachelor in divinite," who two years before, on 10 August, 1570, had made his will "sigillatum et subscriptum per me Johannem Baker."[5] Bartilmewe gave direction that he should be "buried in the Gray ffreres Cloyster in the parishe of Christ Churche, over against the Scoolehouse dore ther," and in order that the Treasurer or Master of Christ's Hospital might consent to give licence for his burial in that place left 20*s.* to the children of the Hospital. This leaves no room for doubt that the old priest was the Friar John Baker who had signed the Deed of Surrender in 1538.[6] Clearly he had kept his love for his ancient home, and though we cannot tell whether his wish was fulfilled he certainly found his last resting-place within its precincts. From the position of his name in the list of 1538 Baker was probably not a very young man at that time, and was no doubt old when he died. Some of his brethren might easily have survived him, but so far he is the last of the Grey Friars of London of whom we have knowledge. It is possible that for some reason he had found it prudent to change his name, though Bartilmewe may have been only an alternative derived from his place of residence.

[1] *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, x, 157. [2] *See* p. 145. [3] Will of R. Massey.
[4] *Registers*, p. 270 (Harleian Soc.).
[5] *Consistory of London*, Bullock, f. 124. I am indebted to Mr. Challenor Smith for this reference. [6] *Grey Friars*, p. 222.

ADDENDA

Some additional notes and corrections to statements in *The Grey Friars of London* can now be given.

Page 3, l. 27. The reference to Giacomo della Marca is erroneous. But the List of Saints must be later than the canonization of S. Bonaventure in 1482.

Page 27, l. 7. *See* Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Pennilesse*, p. 74, for a story of Alphonsus, King Philip's confessor, who was such a moderate man in his diet that he would feed but once a day.

Page 74, l. 17. In the *Chronicle of John of Reading* (p. 128, ed. J. Tait) it is stated that Queen Isabella "seducta tamen per fratres minores, qui sibi adherentes semper pejorant, in eorum ecclesia nondum dedicata xxvij. die Novembris sepelitur." Geoffrey Chaucer was present in the Greyfriars Church at her funeral. (According to Murimuth (ed. Hog, p. 65) and the *Lanercost Chronicle* (p. 266) Roger Mortimer was buried at the Grey Friars, London, until his removal to Wigmore.)

Page 77, note 6. The reference is clearly to Isabella, second wife of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and not to the daughter of the Kingmaker. *See* p. 29.

Page 78, ll. 6-9. The reference is probably to Margery, mother of Sir Walter de Romesey, who was born in 1304 and died in 1373, and to her elder son John, who died before 1346. See *Stonor Letters*, i, p. xlix.

Page 86, l. 4. In January 1338 Thomas de la Barre of Hereford left legacies to the Friars Minor of London, Hereford, and Shrewsbury (*Anc. Deeds*, C. 6735, P.R.O.).

Page 94, l. 11. For Bartholomew Thomasin of Lucca, apothecary at London in 1318, see *Anc. Deeds*, C. 87.

Page 95, l. 3. Margaret Lenthale was buried at the Friars Minor at Hereford on 28 Feb., 1424. *Reg. T. Spofford*, p. 46.

Page 99, l. 24. John Bloyhou is very probably the Magister John Bloyow who was Commissary of the

Chancellor at Oxford in 1297 (*Oxford Coroner's Inquests*: Oxford Chronicle Co.).

Page 101, l. 12. Sir John de Yatminster occurs in 1344 (*Foedera*, ii, 16, Record Ed.).

Page 103, l. 4. Henry Wodylston, *see* p. 150 below.

Page 109, l. 25. Robert Rufford of Edlesborough, Bucks, of whom an account is given in an article by Mr. F. G. Gurney in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, x, 285-91.

Page 115, ll. 23-4. Letters of Administration of the goods of John Ireby, "curtman," of S. Dunstan in the West, were granted on 8 August, 1422, to John Dureham and others (*Comm. Lond.*, More, f. 96). This makes it probable that the date of John Dureham, who was buried next to Ireby, was *c.* 1425; if so, it is one of several names omitted from the Register in the first instance and subsequently inserted.

Page 125, l. 20. Peter Trauers: perhaps son of Peter Travers, Keeper of the Rolls of the Chancery in Ireland, 1465 (*Anc. Deeds*, C. 831).

Page 126, l. 5. The name should be John Blaste (not Blasto), as appears from the Grant of Administration to his wife Cicely on 1 Dec., 1396 (*Commissary of London*, Courtney, f. 382).

Page 182, l. 1. Lucius de Marchia is more probably to be identified with the Friar Lucidus whom Bartholomew of Pisa (*Anal. Franc.*, iv, 282-3, 515) says came from the March.

Page 182, l. 5. John de Alvernia was born at Fermo, but was not bishop, as stated in the Note.

Page 182, l. 16. Jacobus de Faldrano is wrongly identified with Giacomo della Marca. The reference is to Giacomo de Fallerone, as to whom *see* Sabatier, *Actus B. Francisci*, p. 173.

Pages 197-8. *See* the similar narrative in *Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 285, with the more correct date 1335; 1285 is impossible, since Robert was King of Naples 1309-43.

Page 232, l. 19. Mr. A. G. Little has shown that the lost Chronicle of Friar Richard of Durham was the original of the *Lanercost Chronicle* (*Engl. Hist. Review*, xxxi, pp. 269-79).

CORRIGENDA IN "GREY FRIARS OF LONDON"

Preface, l. 3. *Read*: Vitellius, F. xii.
Page 10, l. 2. *Read*: 25 Dogett.
Page 11, l. 4. *Read*: 11 Dyngely.
Page 60, l. 5. *Read*: elemosinis.
Page 65, note 12. *Read*: *Letter Book*, H.
Page 66, l. 15. *Read*: Ingolsby.
Page 99, l. 15. *Read*: Bauand. *And so also on* p. 135.
Page 121, l. 25. *Read*: Cornton. *And so also on* p. 136.
Page 179, note 1. *Read*: Tavileis *for* Taulicis.

I. EXTRACTS FROM WILLS RELATING TO GREY FRIARS, LONDON.

THE great majority of these Wills come from those registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (P.C.C.). These Wills are noted simply by the name of the volume with the number of the quaternion in which the Will is to be found. The next in order are the Wills proved in the Court of the Commissary of London; these Wills are noted *Comm. Lond.*, with the name of the volume and the number of the folio. Between 1395 and 1414 some Wills are given from the Register of the Archdeacon of London; noted *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, with the number of the folio. There are very few Wills from other sources. Amongst the numerous Wills registered in the Court of Husting which contain references to the Grey Friars (chiefly bequests for masses) there are only six instances where the testator desired to be buried at Greyfriars. It has not appeared necessary to include these here, but it may be useful to give the names and dates. 1286 John de St. Meynak; 1389 John Philpot; 1425 John Basset; 1436 Guy Terry; 1439 John Barre *alias* Markeley; 1466 William Burton. Of these Philpot, Basset, and Barre (or Barowe) appear in the Register, and Wills of Basset and Barre are given below.

Biographical notes which appear in the *Grey Friars of London* are not repeated here.

NOTE. Names which do not appear in the Register are marked*. The names of persons who were not buried at Greyfriars are marked †.

1374. * Thomas Peccherone, merchant of Dynant. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors of London, and payment made at the discretion of his executors.

Will dated 1 June, 1374. Proved 15 June, 1374. *Comm. Lond.*, Courtney, f. 8.

1377. * Hugh atte Hall. To be buried "apud ratres minores London."

Will dated 2 May, 1377. Proved 13 July, 1377. *Comm. London*, Courtney, f. 48.

1382. * Paschasius de Ilardia, procurator Regis Naverre. To be buried in the Friars Minors, London, and left 4 marks for his burial. Left "fratri Egidio confessori suo" 13*s.* 4*d.*

Will dated 22 July, 1382. Proved same day. *Comm. London*, Courtney, f. 89.

1384. * Peter atte Lane, baker, of S. Ewen's. To be buried among the Friars Minors of London. To the work of the church and houses of the said Friars, 20*s.* To each of the four Orders and to the Crutched Friars, 30*d.* for placebo and dirige.

Will dated 5 May, 1384. Proved 9 May, 1384. *Comm. London*, Courtney, f. 118.

1385. * Hugh Mason, butcher, of S. Nicholas Shambles. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors. Left the Friars 60*s.* "Lego fratri Willelmo Browe et fratri Waltero Spenser de ordine fratrum Minorum, cuilibet eorum x.*s.*, sub condicione quod quilibet eorum celebret pro anima mea trigintale Sancti Gregorii . . . Lego fratri Henrico Stanyng de ordine Minorum, iij *s.* iiij *d.*"

Will dated 5 Dec., 1385. Proved 10 Dec., 1385. *Comm. Lond.*, Courtney, f. 146.

Hugh Mason was one of the masters of the Mistery of Butchers of the Shambles in Nov. 1378 (*Letter Book, H*, p. 96).

1386. Edward Burnell, Rector of the Church of Cotenham. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London. Left the Friars 40*l.* Left Sir Hugh Burnell, his brother, all his vessels of silver.

Will dated 30 March, 1386. Proved 4 May, 1386. *Ely Consistory Court*, Arundel, f. 56.

Buried in the midst of the Choir and described in the Register as "venerabilis Magister et dominus Edwardus Burnell, filius domini de Burnell" (*Grey Friars*, p. 75). He occurs as Archdeacon of Ely in 1373 and 1380 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, i, 351). The lords Burnell had a residence near Holborn Bridge, within a short distance of Greyfriars (*Cal. Letter Book*, H, p. 372).

1390. * William Ramundi. "In domo suo habitacionis in carreria Douegate nobilis et potens Baro, dominus Willelmus Ramundi de Madelhano, miles, dominus de Rosano, patrie Acquitanie."[1] To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors of London, but afterwards his body was to be removed for burial at S. Marie de Puyolys with his ancestors. He left 10 marks to the Friars for his first burial and exhumation. "Frater Guillelmus Fabri, conventus Fratrum Minorum" was an executor.

Will dated 10 Sept., 1390. Proved 19 Dec., 1390. *Comm. Lond.*, Courtney, f. 221.

1393. Sir John Devereux. "Mon corps destre enteres a les freres menours en Londres. Item ieo devyse cynq taperes de syre entour mon corps en le quyze dune Croyse et vj torches par vj homes tenantz les ditz torches, checun vestu en blanc drap et eyant checun xi *d.* pur leur travayl, et checun poure home qui vyent le iour de mon sepulture j *d.* en almoyngne pur prier pur mon alme et de touz cristienes. Item ieo diveyse a les ditz freres pur mon sepulture xl marcs."

Will dated 5 June, 1390. Proved 24 Feb., 1392-3. 3 Rous.

He was buried "coram altaribus" in a raised tomb between the Common and Jesus Altars. *Grey Friars*, p. 106. *See* also *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 134.

1393. * Maud Organ, late wife of Hugh atte Stone. To be buried at Friars Minors, London, and left 10*s.* for

[1] William Raymont of Madeillant, lord of Rauzan (Gironde); *C.P.R.* 13, Ric. II, p. 245 (May 11, 1390).

her sepulture. Two torches were to burn about her, and one was left to the Friars and the other to S. Michael Bassynghawe. "Lego fratri Johanni Bauel dicte ordinis fratrum Minorum ad celebrandum et exorandum pro anima mea, ij *s*. Lego fratri Johanni Leghes, eiusdem ordinis, ad celebrandum pro anima dicti Hamonis nuper viri mei et anima mea, etc., v marcas."

Will dated 19 Aug., 1393. No Probate. *Comm. Lond.*, Courtney, f. 284.

John Bavell was buried in S. Mary's Chapel, and is described as "valens pater" (*Grey Friars*, p. 85); his date was not known. John Leghes is new. Maud Organ or Atte Stone was, according to her will, sister of John Organ (sheriff in 1385–1386).

1395. * Robert Clopton, carpenter, of London. To be buried "in domo Fratrum Minorum."

Will dated 21 May, 1395. Proved 15 Sept., 1395. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 30.

1396. * John Punchon, brewer. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors within Newgate.

Will dated 19 Oct., 1395. Proved 26 Jan., 1395-6. *Comm. Lond.*, Courtney, f. 360.

1396. * John de Sancto Gracio, merchant of Genoa, son of Stephen de Sancto Gracio. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors of London, who are to be remunerated as his executors think fit. "Datum in domo habitacionis Reginaldi Grelli in parochia sancti Swythini, London."

Will dated 23 July, 1396. Proved 12 Aug., 1396. *Comm. Lond.*, Courtney, f. 372.

1396. William Kyngman, vintner. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London. Left the friars 20*s*. for his sepulture and for his soul to be had in remembrance. Mentions his tavern "le Holebole" in Cheap.

Will dated 31 Aug., 1396. Proved 18 Sept., 1396. *Comm. Lond.*, Courtney, f. 379.

Buried in the second bay of the South Aisle of the Nave. The Register gives no date. *Grey Friars*, p. 124.

1398. * Alice atte Water, widow of William atte Water. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London. Left the Friars 10*s*.

Will dated 4 March, 1397-8. Proved 4 April, 1398. *Comm. Lond.*, Courtney, f. 411.

1400. * Richard Bole, citizen of London. To be buried "in domo Fratrum Minorum."

Will dated 5 Jan., 1399-1400. Proved 12 Jan., 1399-1400. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 42.

1401. * John Huggford. Nuncupative Will made "in quodam hospicio vulgariter nuncupato the Kyngeshed in suburbio de Fletstrete." Son of William Huggford, of Shropshire. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors.

Will dated 3 May, 1401. Proved 15 November, 1401. 1 Marche.

1401. John Viaunde. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London. Left the Friars 100*s*.

Will dated 7 Oct., 1401. Proved 21 Oct., 1401. *Comm. Lond.*, Brown, f. 9.

Buried in the second bay of the Choir in the All Hallows Chapel. The date "1410" in the Register is an error for 1401. *Grey Friars*, 78.

1402. * Parnell Katerinton, wife of John Katerinton, of S. Faith's. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London.

Will dated 31 Jan., 1401-2. Proved 3 March, 1401-2. *Comm. Lond.*, Brown, f. 16.

1403. Nicholas Uske, late Treasurer of the Town of Cales (Calais). To be buried in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minors at the discretion of his executors. John Norbury, esq., father of his wife, was overseer of his will, and Richard de Lodelowe, Rector of S. Mary Somerset, one of the witnesses. Dated "in curia sua," in the parish of S. Mary Somerset.

Will dated 1 Feb., 1402-3. Proved 10 Feb., 1402-3. 3 Marche.

He was buried "under the cross" before the Altar of the Holy Cross, close to the tomb of John Norbury. *Grey Friars*, pp. 109, 111.

1404. * Thomas Horwell or Orwell, "Episcopus Aladene." To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors of London, if he happened to die there. Left 10*s.* to the Friars and a chalice to the Church of Killala.

Will dated 20 March, 1401-2. Proved 2 July, 1404. 7 Marche.

He was bishop of Killala 31 Jan., 1389, and suffragan of Ely from 1389 to 1404. Cf. *Franciscan Province of Ireland* (B.S.F.S. IX), p. 165.

1404. Thomas Fovent or Favent. To be buried in the Friars Minors. Left 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Friars of the Holy Cross, London, for masses; and 40*d.* to the sub-prior. His will was dated in S. Mary Hospital beside London.

Will dated 6 April, 1404. Proved 7 June, 1404. 6 Marche.

Buried in the fifth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Francis. *Grey Friars*, p. 96.

1404. Walter Malet. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors. Left 40*s.* to each of the Orders of Friars in London.

Will dated 2 Nov., 1404. Proved 30 Nov., 1404. 7 Marche.

Was Rector of S. Mary-le-Bow. Buried in the centre of the fourth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Mary. *Grey Friars*, p. 82.

1405. * William Gele. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors. Left 3*s.* 4*d.* for his sepulture and their prayers.

Will dated 22 Dec., 1404. Proved 28 Jan., 1404-5. *Comm. Lond.*, Brown, f. 58.

1405. William Marchall. To be buried within the house of the Friars Minors, London. Left much armour to friends.

Will dated 12 Feb., 1404-5. Proved 11 March, 1404-5. *Comm. Lond.*, Brown, f. 61.

Buried "sub parvo lapide" in the centre of the Nave. The Register gives no date. *Grey Friars*, p. 122.

1406. * Richard Barton. To be buried "in cimiterio Fratrum Minorum, London, coram ymagine sancti Francisci." Left 20*s.* to the Convent.

Will dated 9 Jan., 1405-6. Proved 25 Jan., 1405-6. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 152.

1406. * Richard Covyntre, skinner, of S. Ewen's. To be buried "in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum juxta ymaginem sancti Christofori . . . Lego ffratri Waltero Spenser et ffratri Edmundo Rous ad celebrandum trentale sancti Gregorii" [*no amount given*]. To the Convent, 6*s.* 8*d.* Mentions wife, Maud.

Will dated 1405. Proved 26 Jan., 1405-6. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 152.

The Image of S. Christopher is mentioned in the Will of James Gyfford in 1473. It was very probably in the fifth bay of the North Aisle of the Nave, where was the window of S. Christopher. Friar Walter Spenser is mentioned in the Will of Hugh Mason in 1385. Friar Edmund Rous is a new name.

1406. * William Asshe, salter, of S. Sepulchre's. To be buried "in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum ex parte australi extra barras." Left 20*s.* to the Friars.

Will dated 4 July, 1406. Proved 21 July, 1406. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 158.

The "bars" may be the same as the "valve" or "valence," which means the screen between the Altars and the Nave proper.

1407. * Simon Frenssh, baker, of S. Sepulchre's parish. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London.

Will dated 1 Nov., 1407. Proved 23 Nov., 1407. *Comm. Lond.*, Brown, f. 107.

Possibly father of Friar John Frensche. Simon Frensshe was a representative of the Mistery of Bakers in the Common Council in 1376. *Letter Book*, H, p. 41.

1408. * John Gawt, baker, of S. Ethelburga. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors. Left 20*s.* to the Friars.

Will dated 22 March, 1406-7. Proved 4 March, 1407-8. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 170.

1408. Richard Gest. To be buried at the Friars Minors, "secundum disposicionem Magistri Roberti Chamberleyn, fratris." Chamberleyn was witness to a Codicil on 7 Jan.

Will dated 2 Jan., 1407-8. Proved 23 Jan., 1407-8. 15 Marche.

He was buried "coram altaribus" near the Jesus Altar. Robert Chamberleyn occurs as Guardian of the London house in 1403. *Grey Friars*, pp. 57, 109.

1409. * John Wynchecombe, of S. Nicholas Oloff. To be buried in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minors. Left 10*s.* to the Friars for a trental.

Will dated 10 July, 1407. Proved 8 Feb., 1407-8. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 210.

1409. * Walter Elys. To be buried "in cimiterio Fratrum Minorum, London." Left the Friars to pray for him, 20*d.*

Will dated 20 April, 1409. Proved 20 April, 1409. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 212.

1410. Thomas Cornton. To be buried in the midst of the North Aisle of the Nave of the Church of the Friars Minors, London. A marble stone with sculpture was to be put on his tomb at a cost of not more than 26*s.* 8*d.* Left the Friars 40*s.* for masses, and to be remembered amongst their benefactors for a whole year. To each of the Friars that bore him to the Church 12*d.* Left two torches to the Friars.

Will dated 28 June, 1408. Proved 2 May, 1410. *Comm. Lond.*, Brown, f. 171.

Clearly to be identified with the Thomas Comton of the Register, who was buried in the fourth bay of the North Aisle. *Grey Friars*, p. 121.

1410. * John Castre, of S. Mildred Poultry. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors. Left the Friars 20*s.* for his sepulture and their prayers.

Will dated 31 May, 1410. Proved 25 Aug., 1410. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 232.

1410. * William Conynggrove. To be buried "in claustro Fratrum Minorum, London." For his sepulture and their prayers, 20*s*. Bequests to the Church of S. Mary, Northall, and to the works of S. James, Clerkenwell.

Will dated 8 June, 1410. No Probate, probably 1414. *Comm. Lond.*, Brown, f. 289.

1411. * David Bardevyle, of S. Olave, Silver Street. To be buried "in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum coram imagine beate Marie in parte australi dicte ecclesie."

Will dated 1 April, 1411. Proved 3 May, 1411. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 244.

This Image seems clearly to have been in the South Aisle of the Nave. The Will of Joan Golding in 1464 mentions an Image of Our Lady, but again we do not know the position of the tomb. William Gee in 1485 mentions an Image of the Virgin in the Nave; but he was buried in the North Aisle. There was an Image of the Virgin in the Chapel of S. Mary: *see* Joan Elveden, 1420.

1412. * William le Howe, citizen and clothworker. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors. Left the Friars 100*s*.

Will dated 12 May, 1412. Proved 17 May, 1412. *Archd. London*, Reg. I, f. 262.

1412. * Alice de Northfolke. To be buried "in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum vel in claustro ejusdem ecclesie." Bequests to the high altars of S. Olave, Silver Street, and S. Mary, Stanynglane.

Will dated 14 Oct., 1411. Proved 3 Sept., 1412. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 268.

1412. * William Ekynton. To be buried "in domo vel ecclesia Fratrum Minorum, London."

Will dated 23 Aug., 1412. Proved 1 Oct., 1412. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 269.

1413. * Gaillard Denbidan, merchant of Bordeaux, "in domo habitacionis Thome Couston in parochia sancti Martini in Vinetria." To be buried in the Con-

ventual Church of the Friars Minors, London. Left "fratri Geraldo de Crugiacha, ordinis Minorum, meo confessori," 1 mark of English money, to pray for him. Friar Gerald was an executor, and Friar Thomas Wolor, "ordinis Minorum," a witness.

Will dated 5 Sept., 1413. Notarial. *Comm. Lond.*, Brown, f. 262.

Friar Gerald de Crugiacha (Croisic?) was clearly resident in London, perhaps as a confessor for foreign visitors. A Thomas Wollore, Carmelite, occurs in 1399 (*Cal. Pap. Reg.*, v, 212, 235).

1414. * Alice Creke, widow of Geoffrey Creke, citizen and physician. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors. Left the Friars 20*s.* to be divided equally amongst them, to pray for her and her husbands Elys Weston, William Bromtholme, John Heure, and Geoffrey Creke. Left 3*s.* 4*d.* to each of the five Orders of Friars and two torches to the Friars Minors. Amongst numerous bequests occurs a "pouder box scriptum cum istis verbis Anglice *Strawe on pouder enough.*"

Will dated 10 Dec., 1413. Proved 28 April, 1414. *Archd. Lond.*, Reg. I, f. 313.

Not in the Register, unless she may be identified with Alice Croker, for whom there is no date (*Grey Friars*, p. 116). Elys Weston occurs 1370–88; he was a butcher of S. Nicholas Shambles (*Cal. Letter Book*, H); "Geffrey Creek, ffesicien" was party to a suit in Chancery which can be dated between 1391 and 1396. *Early Chancery Proceedings*, 7/283.

1414. John Tibbay, Archdeacon of Huntingdon and Chancellor of the Queen. To be buried in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minors, London. Left John Langthorn, priest, his book "Pupilla Oculi." His Will was made in the hall of the dwelling-place of Thomas Tykhull, in S. Lawrence Jewry.

Will dated 24 July, 1414. Proved 28 July, 1414. 29 Marche.

Tybbay died of a murderous attack made on him in Lad Lane (which was close to S. Lawrence Jewry) on 22 July, 1414. He was buried in the fifth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Mary, "sub longo lapide et lato." *Grey Friars*, p. 81.

1417. * Lawrence Gorlefen, citizen and pynner. To be buried " in cimiterio Fratrum Minorum, London." To the Friars, to pray for him, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Will dated 17 Aug., 1417. No Probate: probably Aug. 1417. *Comm. Lond.*, Brown, f. 370.

1418. Sir John Assheley, Knight. To be buried in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minors, London.

Will dated 12 Jan., 1417-18. Proved 25 Feb., 1417-18. 40 Marche.

Buried in the sixth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Mary. *Grey Friars*, 84.

1419. Richard Hallam. To be buried at the Friars Minors " ex opposito fenestre Sancti Christofori ex parte boriali." Left 40*s.* to the Friars to pray for his soul.

Will dated 20 Nov., 1419. Proved 19 Nov.,[1] 1419. 46 Marche.

Brother of Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury. Was buried before the fifth[2] window from the east in the North Aisle of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 122.

1419. * Agnes Fereby. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London. Left the Friars 20*s.*

Will dated 11 March, 1418-19. Proved 7 April, 1419. *Comm. Lond.*, More, f. 25.

1420. * John Beke. To be buried in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minors. Left 20*s.* for his sepulture. Bequeathed 6*s.* 8*d.* " for the sustentacion of the Porters Light " in S. Michael, Queenhithe.

Will dated 27 Apr., 1420. Proved 23 May, 1420. *Comm. Lond.*, More, f. 54.

1420. Thomas Coule. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London, after the ordinance of Anne, his wife, in an humble and honest manner without pomp.

Will dated 5 Aug., 1420. Proved 7 Oct., 1420. 54 Marche.

He was buried in the seventh bay of the Choir in the Chapel

[1] MS. xix, probably an error for xxix.

[2] Counting the Altars as the first.

of S. Mary. The date given in the Register—August 20, 1422—may be that of his wife's death. *Grey Friars*, pp. 87–8.

1420. JOHN BAILLEY or BAYLY. To be buried "coram imagine Salutacionis beate Marie in ecclesia Fratrum Carmelitarum in Flete-strete," and 6*s.* 8*d.* was left for that purpose. If this could not be obtained he was to be buried at the Friars Minors "coram altari vocato Hatton Aweter," paying 6*s.* 8*d.* General mass was to be celebrated at all Orders of Friars in London and suburbs on his burial day.

Will dated 6 Nov., 1420. Proved 11 Nov., 1420. 49 Marche.

Died on 6 November, 1420, and was buried in the seventh bay in S. Francis' Chapel, *i.e.*, near the west end of the Chapel. The altar may have been endowed by Thomas Hatton, "qui multa bona fecit in conventu." Hatton died on November 20, 1419, and was buried in the fifth bay in S. Francis' Chapel. *Grey Friars*, pp. 95, 99.

1421. JOAN ELVEDEN. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors beside Newgate at the discretion of her executors. Bequests to her dread lady the Duchess of Clarence and her daughters. Left the Friars Minors "a 'cerkle' of silver gilt with divers gems, to be used on the head of S. Mary the Virgin when my body is buried, at the discretion of my executors; and I will that the said 'cerkle' be in no wise sold by the Friars." Bequests to the Carmelites of London 40*s.*, to the Austin Friars 20*s.*, and to the Friars Preachers 20*s.*

Will dated 4 Sept., 1421. Proved 18 Oct., 1421. 52 Marche.

Buried in the fifth bay of the Choir in S. Mary's Chapel. In the Register her name is given as Elvenden, and the date of her death as 13 Oct., 1400. *Grey Friars*, p. 83.

1426. JOHN BASSET, brewer, of S. Ewen's. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors. Master Thomas Cotyngwyth was a witness.

Will dated 29 Dec., 1425. Proved 5 March, 1425-6. *Comm. Lond.*, More, f. 152.

He was buried in the middle of the Nave. Cotyngwyth, who was a proctor of the Court of Canterbury, was buried near Basset in 1428 (*Grey Friars*, pp. 114-15). *See* also *Cal. Wills Husting*, ii, 447, where the Will was not proved till 1428.

1426. * Joan de Tybbay. To be buried at the Friars Minors. Bequeathed two nobles to be distributed amongst the Friars on the day of her burial. Mentions her sons, Thomas—clerk, deceased—and John de Tybbay, and her daughter, Agnes Wynslaw.

Will dated (at London) 12 July, 1426. Proved 20 July, 1426. 6 Luffenam.

Probably connected with John Tybbay, who was buried in 1414 in the Chapel of S. Mary. Agnes Wynslaw is the Agnes Wynsley of 1444, and may be mother of John Wydeslade (or Wynslade), who died in 1468. *Grey Friars*, pp. 81, 101.

1429. * John Halman, of Patryngton, York, " valectus equorum domini Comitis Warrewyc." To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors of London, " secundum disposicionem fratris Johannis Geffrey, eiusdem ordinis," if he died in London ; in that case he left 20*s.* to the Friars for his sepulture and their prayers.

Will dated 28 Jan., 1428-9. Registration cancelled and administration granted 4 Feb., 1428-9. *Comm. Lond.*, More, f. 215.

1429. * John Bungay, of Bungay, Suffolk. To be buried in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minors if he died in London : in which case he bequeathed 40*s.* to the Friars to pray for his soul.

Will dated 17 July, 1428. Proved 6 March, 1428-9. 15 Luffenam.

1430. William Battisford, clerk, of Balsham, Cambridge. To be buried at the Friars Minors, London ; left the Prior and Convent 6*s.* 8*d.* for his burial.

Will dated 15 March, 1429-30. Proved 21 March, 1429-30. 13 Luffenam.

Possibly to be identified with the William Batux who was buried in the fourth bay in the centre of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 113.

1432. Joan Basset, of S. Alban's, Wood Street, widow of John Basset, *d.* 1426. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors.

Will dated 11 Feb., 1431-2. Proved 21 May, 1432. *Comm. Lond.*, More, f. 307.

Buried with her husband. *Grey Friars*, p. 115.

1433. Thomas Berowe. To be buried "in corpore ecclesie Fratrum Minorum ex parte australi." Left "le Whithert" in S. Sepulchre's to his wife for life, with remainder to the Rector of All Hallows, Honey Lane.

Will dated 4 Aug., 1433. Proved 16 Oct., 1433. 18 Luffenam.

Appears in the Register as Thomas Barro, citizen and vintner. He was buried in the centre of the second bay of the South Aisle of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 124.

1435. * Joan Pomerey. To be buried at the Friars Minors, "secundum disposicionem Gardiani ibidem et magistri Thome Wynchelsey." Bequeathed 40*s.* to the Friars to pray for his soul. Mentions Thomas Whalesburgh, her son, who was heir of her first husband John Whalesburgh, her son Robert Whalesburgh, and her second husband Sir Thomas Pomerey.

Will dated 20 Nov., 1435. Proved 18 Jan., 1435-6. 19 Luffenam.

Her tomb is not recorded in the Register; but it was in S. Francis' Chapel where her daughters Anne Molens and Alice FitzRauff were buried. Elizabeth Hamden, who was buried in the Nave, was possibly a granddaughter. *Grey Friars*, pp. 90, 96, 97, 118. *See* p. 105 below.

1436. * Elias Stoke. To be buried at the discretion of his executors. To each Friar Minor of London being a priest 4*d.*, and to each other Friar Minor 2*d.*, to hold his exequies in their house with placebo, dirige, commendation, and mass immediately after his death. A similar bequest to the Austin Friars. To John Rowe, of Excestre College in Oxon., and his fellows, 26*s.* 8*d.*, viz., to the Rector and one other priest 20*d.*, and to 13 fellows 12*d.* each; the remainder to the College. To

John Rowe " bibliam meam et unum alium librum meum de sermonibus Januensis, et psalterium meum glossatum, et unum librum medicinarum qui dudum fuit magistri Ricardi Broun," for life, and after his death to the College for the use of any student in theology there.

Will dated 28 May, 1436. Proved 16 June, 1436. 20 Luffenam.

Elias Stoke entered at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1384, and was Rector from 1391–1393. On Jan. 21, 1406, Elias Stoke, master in arts and scholar in theology at Oxford, had licence to take a benefice granted him by papal provision, and became Rector of Greinton, Somerset, accordingly. He exchanged Greinton for the living of S. Mary Steps at Exeter on March 21, 1412. In 1415 he received a canonry at Crantock, Cornwall. In the Exeter College Register the receipt of bequest of 11*s.* 4*d.* from Elias Stoke is recorded. John Rowe was Rector of Exeter College from 1433–1440. All Souls College MS. 79, which contains the " Laurea Medicine " of Gilbertus Anglicus, formerly belonged to Stoke : it may be the " Liber medicinarum " referred to in his Will. See *Reg. Coll. Exon.* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), pp. 23, 34 ; *Cal. Pat. Rolls* Henry IV, iii, 115, 172 ; Henry V, i, 369.

1436. † Margaret Butvelyne. Left " Magister Wolfe, frater minor," 5 marks, and " Warennus Sporil, frater minor," 4 marks, to celebrate masses.

Will dated 4 Sept., 1436. Proved 20 Sept., 1436. 21 Luffenam.

Wolfe may be the William Wolfe, " doctor egregius," of the Register, who was a friar of the London house and died in 1466. *Grey Friars*, p. 83.

1438. John Jakes, of Asshen, Essex. To be buried " in domo Fratrum Minorum, London." Bequeathed 20*s.* to the convent to pray for his soul and for his burial.

Will dated 27 Oct., 1438. Proved 6 Nov., 1438. 25 Luffenam.

May possibly be the same as John Joyes, who was buried " coram altaribus," near the Common Altar. *Grey Friars*, p. 111.

1439. John Barowe *alias* Markeley. To be buried at Friars Minors. Bequeathed 13*s.* 4*d.* for his burial and to pray for his soul.

Will dated 8 June, 1439. Proved 20 June, 1439. 25 Luffenam.

Buried in the third bay of the South Aisle of the Nave (*Grey Friars*, p. 126). *See* also *Cal. Wills Husting*, ii, 488.

1439. † Marmaduke Kirkeby, Rector of S. Andrew, Baynard Castell. " Lego fratri Johanni Patyon de ordine fratrum Minorum ad dicendum unum Trentale."

Will dated 7 Oct., 1439. Proved 10 Dec., 1439. *Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 35.

1440. William Danvers or Deaunvers, squire, of Bucks. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors. Mentions wife, Joan.

Will dated 14 Dec., 1439. Proved 30 Jan., 1439-40. 27 Luffenam.

Buried with his wife in the fourth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Francis. *Grey Friars*, p. 94.

1440. Richard Aughton. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London. The greater part of the Will is illegible.

Will dated 23 July, 1440. Proved 15 Oct., 1440. 28 Luffenam.

Buried in the sixth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Francis. *Grey Friars*, p. 99.

1442. † William Wennard, merchant of Exeter, and a great benefactor to the Friars Minors there. Left 20*s.* to the Friars Minors of London for placebo, dirige, and requiem.

Will dated Jan. 1442. Proved 5 Nov., 1442. 14 Rous.

1443. * Henry Asshebourne, citizen and surgeon. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors with Joan, his late wife. Left, for his sepulture to be had, 20*s.* " Et si fratres predicti pro predictis xx *s.* corpus meum in ecclesia sua predicta sepelire noluerunt, tunc lego eisdem fratribus x *s.* et alios x *s.* residuos lego pro sepultura mea in Pardonchurchawe juxta ecclesiam Sancti Pauli . . . Lego Henrico filio meo vij libros meos principales,

videlicet unum librum nigrum vocatum Tederyk; secundum librum rubrum, cum circumstanciis in principio; tercium librum vocatum parvum Lamfrank; quartum librum nigrum, cum capitulis de ffestres in fine; quintum librum vocatum Anothonomye, notificavit a corona capitis ad plantam pedis; vj^{tum} librum vocatum Ardern; et septimum librum nigrum in Gallico; cum aliis libris pertinentibus arti cirurgie ac librum meum vocatum Punner." After his son's death the seven books are to be given to the Charterhouse.

Will dated 4 Oct., 1442. Proved 7 March, 1442-3. *Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 115.

The book called Ardern is some treatise of the celebrated surgeon John Arderne (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, ii, 70): one of his works has been edited by d'Arcy Power in E.E.T.S. Tederyk is Teodorico dei Borgognoni, 1206–1298, surgeon at Bologna, works printed first at Venice 1498. Parvum Lamfrank is the Chirurgia Minor of Lanfranchi de Milano, written 1270. Anothonomye is probably the Anatomy of Nicholas of Salerno, published by F. Redeker (Leipzig, 1917), which became popular in early thirteenth century, and is sometimes printed among the spurious works of Galen: it proceeds from head to heel, an unusual method for anatomies. The book "cum circumstanciis in principio" may be the well-known Salernitan work on medical herbs beginning "circa instans" dating from the fourteenth century. (From notes kindly supplied by Dr. and Mrs. Singer.)

1443. * John Tele, citizen and pastelar. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors of London. Left 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Friars for his sepulture.

Will dated 15 April, 1443. Proved 17 June, 1443. *Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 191.

1444. * Agnes Wynsley. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors within Newgate, "juxta sepulturam matris mee." Mentions her brother John Tybbay.

Will dated 14 March, 1443-4. Proved 27 March, 1444. *Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 135 B.

Agnes Wynslaw, daughter of Joan de Tybbay. *See* p. 91 above.

1446. * John Bayle, citizen and spurrier. "Corpus meum sepeliendum in quodam cimiterio ex parte occidentali ecclesie Fratrum Minorum ordinis, civitatis London."

Will dated 14 April, 1445. Proved 6 May, 1446. *Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 188.

1446. * William Michell, tailor, of S. Ewen's. To be buried "in claustro Fratrum Minorum infra Newgate." Left the prior and convent 6*s.* 8*d.* to pray for his soul.

Will dated 9 Nov., 1446. Proved 16 Nov., 1446. *Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 200.

1447. Thomas Gloucester, esquire. To be buried in the Friars Minors, where his executors were "to ordeyne a convenyent Tombe for me and for my wyf beryell in the church of the Freres Mynours within Newgate in London afore the auter of our Lady." A perpetual chantry was to be founded there for him and his wife Anne.

Will dated 31 Jan., 1446-7. Proved 5 April, 1447. Lambeth Series, Stafford, f. 146.

He and his wife were buried against the wall under the window of the fourth bay of the Choir in S. Mary's Chapel: they are described in the Register as "principui benefactores huius conventus." *Grey Friars*, p. 80.

1447. William Hoton. To be buried "in ecclesia fratrum minorum juxta corpus Margarete nuper uxoris mee jacentis in Aleya Boreali nave ejusdem ecclesie coram ymaginibus beate Marie et sancti Jacobi." Left 20*s.* for his sepulture and exequies. Left the other three Orders of Friars 3*s.* 4*d.* each. Left Robert Shepton "tractatus vocatus Pharao is pistele," and J. Mordon "tractatus vocatus Hokclyff,[1] *inc.* O precious tresour incomparable."

Will dated 23 April, 1445. Proved 19 Aug., 1447. *Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 220.

There was a William Hoton buried in the third bay of the North Aisle of the Nave. There was an Image of the Virgin in

[1] *i.e.*, Hoccleve's *La Male Regle*. *Works*, i, 25–39 (E.E.T.S.).

that bay, to which reference is made in the Will of William Gee in 1485. This makes it probable that the two William Hotons are identical. But the William Hoton of the Register was buried with his brother Robert, who did not die till 1493. The time between the two deaths is long, but not impossible, supposing that Robert lived to be an old man. *Grey Friars*, p. 120.

1448. * John Grenefeld, of Southwelles, Hants. To be buried at Friars Minors, London, "videlicet in introitu sub campanile coram hostio cancelle eiusdem ecclesie." Bequeathed 20*s.* to the Prior and Convent for his burial. Service by note to be said for his soul in the Choir daily for one month after his decease; for which purpose he left each friar chaplain in the said church 2*s.* 6*d.*

Will dated 8 June, 1448. Proved 24 June, 1448. 35 Luffenam.

His tomb was in the Walking place.

1448. John Wyot, citizen and clothworker. To be buried "in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum, London, juxta tumulum Johannie Assheley, militis." His executors were to remunerate the Convent at their discretion.

Will dated 25 Sept., 1448. Proved 10 October, 1448. *Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 244.

John Wyot, or Wyett, was buried with his wife Margaret in the fifth bay of the Choir in S. Mary's Chapel, on the right hand of Sir John Assheley. *Grey Friars*, p. 84.

1449. * Nicholas Bray, citizen and baker. To be buried "in Insula corporis seu navis ecclesie conventualis Fratrum Minorum, prope Newgate . . . Lego fraternitati sive societati Sancte [*sic*] Clementis Pape artis mee pistorum in ecclesia conventuali Fratrum Minorum antedicta unam torticam"; to burn at levation time before the Altar of S. Clement aforesaid.

Will dated 11 Feb., 1445-6. Proved 26 March, 1449. *Comm. Lond.*, Prowet, f. 257.

For another reference to the Fraternity and Altar of S. Clement *see* the Will of John Lethum, 1498. This Will makes it clear that the Fraternity was attached to the Church of the Friars Minors.

1450. * William Hert, citizen and mercer, of London. To be buried at Friars Minors by his brother John. " Pro sepultura mea habenda, xx *s.*"

Will dated 20 Aug., 1450. Proved 27 Oct., 1450. 12 Rous.

William Hert's name does not appear in the Register. But John Hert, who died in 1449, appears twice over, as buried in the Middle Aisle of the Nave ; one of these entries may belong to William Hert. *Grey Friars*, pp. 114-15.

1450. * Arthur Cursy. Makes his Will " coram fratre Wolfe domus Fratrum Minorum, London." To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors at the discretion of his executors. Left the Friars 20*s.*

Will dated 16 Sept., 1450. Proved 18 Sept., 1450. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 13.

1451. William Anne the elder, of North Aston, lying sick in the hospice called " le Whitehors," in Southwark. To be buried within the Choir of the Church of the Friars Minors : " pro sepultura mea habenda et ad orandum specialiter pro anima mea xl *s.*"

Will dated 19 Dec., 1451. Proved 31 Dec., 1451. 17 Rous.

Buried in the sixth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Mary. *Grey Friars*, p. 86.

1452. * Cristyon Griffyn. " To be beryed in the schyrch of the greyfrerys in London by Joon, my dawter. Also I be qwethe to the same freris ffor my beryyng place, xiij*s.* iiij*d.* Also I by qweth an harnest gyrdill and a peyr of bedys off Get with iij ryngis of silver acros a broche hanging on the bedys, my best brasen pot for to make a Schales to the hey awter off the ffreeris. Also I be queth to the hey awter off the ffrerys a borcloth."

Will dated 6 Jan., 1451-2. Proved 21 Feb., 1451-2. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 42.

1452. Joan Neumarch, widow. To be buried in the All Hallows Chapel in the Church of the Friars Minors. " Magister Willelmus Woolfe " was to celebrate for her soul, and the souls of Richard, late Earl of Warwick, and

his consort Isabell, late Countess of Warwick—domine mee Isabelle—Henry, late Duke of Warwick, and Cicely his consort, Sir Henry Shirley her father, and the Lady Beatrice her mother, Sir Robert Neumarch her husband, and Ralph her son. Friar Woolfe was left 3 gold tablets and a silver cup. Friar Reginald Ewell was to have 40*s*. Mentions her daughter Elizabeth, wife of John Neville, and her sister the Lady Elizabeth Cokayne. "Magister Willelmus Woolf, sacre theologie doctor," was an executor.

Will dated 10 July, 1452. No record of Probate. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 110.

Joan Numarch is described in the Register (*Grey Friars*, p. 77) as "nobilis domicella Isabelle, Comitisse Warwici." The Will makes it clear that this refers to Isabell, the second wife of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (*d.* 1439), and not to Richard Beauchamp's granddaughter, as previously suggested. Joan Numarch was buried in the first bay of the Choir in the All Hallows Chapel. This Will fixes the date of Friar Reginald Ewell.

1453. William Wollashull. To be buried at the "Gray Freres" in London.

Will dated 10 July, 1452. Proved 10 Nov., 1453. Lambeth.

Buried "coram altaribus." *Grey Friars*, p. 110.

1454. John Wyggemore. To be buried at the Friars Minors, London. Left 8*l*. to the church there. To the Chapel of Gray's Inn for a new chalice, 20*s*.

Will dated 20 Aug., 1452. Proved 24 April, 1454. 1 Stokton.

He was a fellow of Gray's Inn, and was buried near the centre of the Walking place. *Grey Friars*, p. 102.

1455. * Robert Vince, citizen and pastelar. To be buried in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minors. Left 6*s*. 8*d*. to the work of the same church.

Will dated 25 June, 1455. Proved 7 August, 1455. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 165.

Robert Vyns occurs as one of the Masters of the Mistery of Cooks sworn on December 16, 1428 (*Cal. Letter Book*, K, p. 99).

1456. * Elizabeth Rikill, widow of Thomas Rikill. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London. "Lego Gardiano et conventui pro reparacione ecclesie ibidem unum ciphum coopertum vocatum a fflatcuppe." Left for her sepulture 6*s.* 8*d.* "Lego sex presbiteris ordinis Fratrum Minorum, London, xl *s.* ad orandum pro anima mea et benefactorum meorum secundum nominationem Magistri Willelmi Woolf, doctoris." Left Fr. Woolf a silver cup.

Will dated 22 Nov., 1456. No record of Probate. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 197.

1457. John Babande. To be buried "infra Prioratum Fratrum Minorum, London." Left the Friars three torches to burn at levation time. To the Friars to come to Trinity Church—his parish—and say placebo and dirige on the day of his burial and for mass of requiem by note at the Priory on the morrow, 20*s.* Mentions wife, Agnes.

Will dated 20 Dec., 1456. No date of Probate, but apparently about May. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 212.

Incorrectly given as John Banand in the Register, where the date of his death is given as 23 April, 1457. His tomb was in the seventh bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Francis. *Grey Friars*, p. 99.

1458. Joan Danvers, widow of William Danvers, squire. To be buried "in ecclesia ffratrum ordinis sancti Francisci, London, in tumulo ubi corpus predicti Willelmi Danvers . . . quiescit humatum." To each Friar of the said house being a priest, 12*d.*, and to each novice, 6*d.*

Will dated 10 June, 1453. Probate not given. 11 Stokton.

In the Register the date of her death is given as 18 January, 1457-8. She and her husband were buried in a raised tomb in the Chapel of S. Francis in the west part of the arch of the fourth bay between the Chapel and the Choir. *Grey Friars*, p. 94.

1458. William Canynges, son of William Canynges, merchant, of Bristol. To be buried as his father willed.

Will dated 8 June, 1458. Proved 20 Nov., 1458. 14 Stokton.

Buried "coram altaribus," near the north end. *Grey Friars*, p. 108.

1459. Walter Potter, citizen and goldsmith. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London, "coram alta cruce ibidem." Left the Friars for his burial and their prayers, 20*s*.

Will dated 21 May, 1459. Proved 25 May, 1459. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 274.

Potter was buried with his wife Agnes in the third bay of the North Aisle of the Nave towards the centre of the Church. *Grey Friars*, p. 119.

1460. * Thomas Mathon, "yoman," of London. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors "juxta sepulturam Walteri Potter, aurifabri."

Will dated 29 December, 1459. Proved 13 Feb., 1459-60. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 292.

1460. Richard Walter, of S. Ewen's. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors "ubi corpus Cecilie nuper uxoris mee requiescit humatum sub lapide marmoreo per me empto et ordinato." To the Friars for his burial and their prayers, 40*s*. Administration granted to wife, Alice.

Will dated 4 May, 1460. No entry of Probate. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 302.

Buried with his two wives in the fourth bay of the North Aisle of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 121.

1463. * Baldwin Payne, citizen and brewer. To be buried "in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum, London, coram ymagine beate Marie de Graciis ex parte boreali dicte ecclesie." For his burial and exequies, mass of requiem on the morrow, and exequies and mass of requiem "die trecennali" (? month-mind) by note, he left 20*s*. in money "et unum Kynderkyn optime cervisie cum dimidio duodene albi panis pro potacione inter eos facienda."

Will dated 8 April, 1463. Proved 10 May, 1463. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 339.

In the absence of evidence as to the position of Payne's tomb we cannot be certain where the Image of S. Mary of Graces stood; but perhaps it was that near the tomb of William Hoton in the third bay of the North Aisle.

1463. John Aleyn, citizen of London and "Serviens domini Humfridi, ducis Gloucestre." To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors: left 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Church for repairs. He appointed as overseers of his Will, "discretos viros, magistrum Johannem Kyry, sacre theologie doctorem, et Johannem Aleyn, filium meum, in sacra theologia inceptorem, fratres minores Civitatis London," and left them each for their trouble 40*d.*

Will dated 4 Aug., 1463, in his house in S. Sepulchre's. Proved 25 Aug., 1463. 2 Godyn.

Described in the Register as "quondam de capella Johannis, ducis Bedfordie." Buried under the second window in the All Hallows Chapel. His son was Guardian. *Grey Friars*, p. 78.

1463. John Wetwang. To be buried before the crucifix in the body of the Hospital Church of S. Bartholomew, West Smithfield. Bequeathed to the Guardian and Convent of the Friars Minors for his exequies and mass of requiem by note, 20*s.*

Will dated 6 Feb., 1463. Proved 24 July, 1463. 3 Godyn.

Clearly to be identified with the John Wetwang who was buried "coram altaribus" on the north side of the Altar of S. Mary, in spite of the directions in his Will. *Grey Friars*, p. 107.

1464. * Joan Golding. "To be buried in the Church of the Freres Minours of London, before the ymage of our Lady there. And I bequethe to the Wardeyn and Covent of the same Church for my buryyng and for my dirige and masse of Requiem and for fecching of my body, xx *s.*"

Will dated 9 April, 1464. Proved 21 April, 1464. 4 Godyn.

As to the Image here referred to *see* p. 68 above.

1464. * Maud Lawrence, widow. To be buried "in

ecclesia Fratrum Minorum, London, prope summum altare coram ymagine beate Marie ibidem." Left 6*s.* 8*d.* for her burial, and to each friar priest 6*d.* and to each other friar 4*d.*

Will dated 5 April, 1464. Proved 7 May, 1464. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 357.

The Image of S. Mary here named may, perhaps, be that in the Chapel of S. Mary (*see* p. 68 above). It does not seem likely that Maud Lawrence could have contemplated burial in the High Choir.

1464. * Richard Myller, brewer. To be buried within the Church of the Friars Minors "secundum directionem magistri mei Gardiani eiusdem domus."

Will dated 22 Sept., 1464—"tercio anno Regis Edwardi." Proved 6 Sept., 1464. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 364.

Myller was presumably the brewer at Greyfriars. The date "Mcccclxiiij" given for his Will is shown to be an error by the addition of the regnal year.

1465. Alexander Crayke. To be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors, London, "videlicet ante crucem in corpore eiusdem ecclesie," if he died in London; or otherwise at Beverley. If he was buried here the Friars were to have 3*s.* 4*d.*

Will dated 6 July, 1465. Proved 12 Nov., 1465. *Comm. Lond.*, Sharp, f. 376.

Since Crayke's Will was proved in the Commissary of London's Court, he may be identified with the Greyke of the Register. *Grey Friars*, p. 115. For the cross in the Nave *see* the Will of Walter Potter in 1459.

1465. * Thomas Creyke, son of Alexander Creyke, of Beverley. If he died in London he desired to be buried in the Church of the Friars Minors there.

See *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iv, 34 (Surtees Society).

1468. † John Norman. To be buried at All Hallows, Honey Lane. "To the Covent of the hous of the freres manours of London, to pray for my soule, xxvj *s.* viij *d.* Item I bequeth to Doctour Godard to pray for my soule xl *s.*"

Will dated 13 May, 1468. Proved 5 October, 1468. 25 Godyn.

He was mayor in 1453-4. See *Survey of London*, i, 271. Doctor Godard is presumably William Goddard the elder.

1468. JOHN WYDESLADE. To be buried "in the church of the freres menours within Newgate of London on the south side of the Qwere dore." Bequeathed 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* to the Friars for 400 masses, and over that to the Warden for the time being 16*s.* 8*d.* for his labour and oversight of the same. Mentions his wife Elizabeth and his son John.

Will dated 1 July, 1468. Proved 6 October, 1468. 24 Godyn.

He was buried in the Walking place, in the eighth tomb from the south wall of the Church, *i.e.*, somewhat nearer the Choir door than the wall. *Grey Friars*, p. 101.

1468. * THOMAS BATTELL, citizen and mercer. To be buried "in capella ex parte boriali chori fratrum Minorum, London, coram ymagine sancti Bernardini ibidem." Left the Friars 4*l.* for his burial and their prayers.

Will dated 4 Nov., 1468. Proved 19 Dec., 1468. *Comm. Lond.*, Wilde, f. 33.

The Chapel is clearly that of S. Mary, which, from the Will of Roger Spencer in 1492, we know was called also the Chapel of S. Barnardyne. This is the only allusion to the saint's Image. The name of Thomas Battaille, mercer, occurs frequently in *Letter Book* K between 1428 and 1444.

1469. JOHN BALDEWYNE. To be buried in the Chapel of S. Francis at the Church of the Friars Minors. Left the Friars 40*s.* for the repair of their church. "Magister doctor Johannes Aleyn" was a witness of the Will.

Will dated 2 June, 1469. Proved 21 July, 1469. 27 Godyn.

He was fellow of Gray's Inn and Common Serjeant of London. His tomb was in the fourth bay of the Choir in S. Francis' Chapel. *Grey Friars*, p. 93.

1470. WILLIAM CHAMBERLEYN. To be buried in the Chapel of S. Mary at the Friars Minors. Bequeathed

5*l.* "ad fabricam ejusdem capelle." Mentions his messuage in which he dwelt in Horne Alley in Aldrichegate Strete.

Will dated 3 October, 1470. Proved 5 November, 1470. 31 Godyn.

His tomb was in the fifth bay of the Choir in S. Mary's Chapel. *Grey Friars*, p. 83.

1471. Alice Fitz Rauff. If she died in London, to be buried at the "grayfreres called freres menours beside Newgate, by my modres sepulture called Dame Johane Pomeray." On the day of her burial the Warden was to have 40*d.*, every doctor 2*s.*, and every "other frere cladde there in the same place," 12*d.* Bequeathed to the Friars her "candelstikkes" of silver, and her blue gown of damask to make vestments. Mentions Rauff and Anne, children of her daughter Elizabeth and Sir Robert Chamberleyn.

Will dated 24 April, 1471. Proved 10 June, 1471. 2 Wattys.

She was buried about the centre of the sixth bay of the Choir in S. Francis' Chapel. For Joan Pomeray *see* under 1435 above. *Grey Friars*, p. 97.

1472. John Wardale. To be buried in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minors, London, before the Altar of the Holy Cross. His executors were to have made "in muro juxta altare sancte crucis, unum memoriale de fundacione Cantarie mee ibidem, et quomodo fratres domus fratrum minores presentes et futuri ad observacionem ejusdem Cantarie perpetue tenentur." He left 10*l.* to Friars to pray for his soul.

Will dated 1 May, 1472. Proved 26 May, 1472. 6 Wattys.

His tomb was at the south end of the Altar of the Holy Cross. *Grey Friars*, p. 107.

1472. Richard Kesteyn. To be buried "in the body of the Covent Church of the Freres Menours of London," by his wife Johane. Left "for my sepulture to be hadde . . . . my vestment of white bawdekin with all the

apparell therto, and my gowne of russet damask to make a newe vestiment therof, and a pece of blak velvet poudred with leves of gold to make the orfreis and parures therto . . . the same newe vestment to be garnisshed up in alle degrees as it owth at my cost." Left the Warden and Convent 4*l.* for placebo, dirige, and requiem.

Will dated 21 November, 1472. Proved 26 March, 1473. 8 Wattys.

Called Keston in the Register. His tomb was in the third bay of the Nave in the South Aisle. He left a widow, who is perhaps the Elizabeth of the Register. *Grey Friars*, p. 125.

1473. Robert Orchard, of London, gentleman. To be buried at Friars Minors "subtus fenestram quam Thomas Caundissh, avus meus, ibidem fieri fecit." His executors were to provide "in pariete subtus dictam fenestram quoddam memoriale pro me et avo meo predicto." Left 16*s.* 8*d.* to the Friars for his burial. His tenements in Bogerowe were left to his wife Lucy.

Will dated 10 May, 1471. Proved 24 July, 1473. 9 Wattys.

Thomas Candysch, goldsmith, was donor of the third window from the west end of the North Aisle of the Nave (or the fifth from the east); he was buried under the first part of this window. Robert Orchard, attorney of the Guildhall, was buried in the third part of the same window. Both tombs were in the centre of the Aisle. This indicates that the window was a late insertion, probably made after 1400, but before 1419 (*see* Will of Richard Hallam in that year). *Grey Friars*, pp. 122, 123, 168.

1473. * James Gyfford. To be buried at Friars Minors, "coram imagine Sancti Christofori."

Will dated 30 July, 1473. Proved 17 August, 1473. 9 Wattys.

Gyfford's tomb does not appear in the Register, and since its position is unknown the place of the Image cannot be fixed: but it may have been near the fifth window from the east in the North Aisle of the Nave (*see* under Richard Hallam, 1419). Or possibly the reference may be simply to that window.

1473. * George Belton, "capellanus diocesis London." To be buried in the Nave of the Friars Minors,

"coram imagine beate Marie communiter vocata Mauricii Poynes." For his burial and prayers, 13*s.* 4*d.* To the cross being made in the cemetery of S. Andrew's Church, 12*d.* "Frater Andrew Bavard ordinis minorum" executor.

Will dated 2 Oct., 1473. Proved 7 Oct., 1473. *Comm. Lond.*, Wilde, f. 138.

The Image of Our Lady, commonly called Maurice Poyns, may possibly be the same with one of those named in the Wills of David Bardevyle in 1411, or Joan Golding in 1464 (*see* p. 102 above). There appears to be no other reference to Maurice Poyns.

1474. * Stephyn Preston, of Sylton, Dorset. To be buried at "freres minoresse," within the City of London. Bequeathed "to the Wardeyn and Convent of the same place their to bury my body and kepe solemne dirige and masse atte tyme of my burieng, and att moneth mynde c *s.*" Bequests to "freres Prechours," "freres Austynesse," and "Whitefreres" of 20*s.* each: "they to pray for me and bryng my body atte the freres minoresse, and then to say placebo and dirige for me, and masses on the morowe, every of them in their own chirche." In another bequest Preston leaves "my naprye wrought with presses and tonnes, my byble, my boke called Bonaventure, my boke called the Pater noster, my boke called Boys de consolacione philosophie, my ii bokes called every of them Stimulus consciencie, and all my other bokes of grammar, sophistr., logyk, and lawe."

Will dated 22 Feb., 1473. Proved 20 April, 1474. 14 Wattys.

Preston's name does not appear in the Register. But the terms of the Will make it clear that by "minoresse" the Grey Friars are intended. The list of books is rather remarkable for a layman.

1474. * Thomas Dagworthe, citizen and tayllour. To be buried "on the north syde in the Chyrche off the ffreyr mynors affore the ymage off Seint Erasmus . . . . and ther apon me to be layde a marbole stone a yard long square or more, with thre ymagys and scripture at

theyr ffete off ther namys, that ys to sey or wytte: An ymage off the seyd Thomas in the myddys, and Johan his ffyrst wyffe on his ryght hand with theyr x sonnys at theyr fote, and Alice his secund wyffe with ther iiij sonnys and iii dowghters at hyr fote."

Will dated 31 March, 1474. Proved 2 July, 1474. *Comm. Lond.*, Wilde, f. 206.

The Image of S. Erasmus is probably the same as the Table of S. Erasmus on the north side as you come out of the west door, which is mentioned in the Will of Thomas Hewett in 1532.

1474. * Robert Warde. To be "beryed atte the grey freres if it may be."

Will dated 25 Oct., 1474. Proved 19 Nov., 1474. *Comm. Lond.*, Wilde, f. 165.

1474. Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy. To be buried at "Grey Freres." Bequeathed "a cope of crymesyn cloath of golde, a chesible and two tunycles of the same suyt, wrought with myn armes, with all the apperell belonging to the same suyt." The bones of his son William were to be taken out of the place where he lies and laid on the left side of his tomb, and "oon tombe to serve us both."

Will dated 8 July, 1474. Proved 10 Feb. [1474-5].[1] 18 Wattys.

Lord Mountjoy lay in a great raised tomb of alabaster under the window on the south of the Altar in the Apostles Chapel. According to the Register his grandson, Edward Blount, lay on his left in the same tomb. William Blount lay in the same place at the head of his father's tomb. *Grey Friars*, pp. 88-9.

1475. * Gilbert Hampton, "citizen and skynner of London, dwellyng in Bermondesey Strete in Southwerk." To be buried "in the Chirche of the Grey ffreres of London, in the North Ile of the same Church, about the Middele Arche of the same Ile." Bequeathed "for my burieng place there to be hadde," 20*s*. Two of the torches used at his burying were bequeathed to the

[1] The year is omitted in the original.

Friars to serve them at the High Altar. His "month-mynd" was to be kept at the Grey Friars.

Will dated 1 Sept., 1475. Proved 21 Sept., 1475. 20 Wattys.

1477. * Joan Smyth, widow. To be buried "in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum, London, sub petra marmorea ubi corpus Johannis Bythewater, baker, nuper mariti sui requiescit humatum."

Will dated 1 June, 1477. Proved 2 July, 1477. *Comm. Lond.*, Wilde, f. 207. Nuncupative.

1478. John Lethum. "To be buried in the Church of the Frere Mynours within Newgate of London, afore the aulter of Saint Clement their. . . . To the workes of the same church for my burieng their to be had and to pray for my soule, xl *s.* . . . To the Fraternite of Saint Clement of my craft and feleshep of Bakers of London, xl *s.*" Mentions wife Margaret.

Will dated 8 Oct., 1478. Proved 12 Nov., 1478. 35 Wattys.

Lethum and his wife were buried "coram altaribus" before the Altar of S. Mary. Either there were two Altars in this Chapel or there was a secondary dedication. *See* p. 66 above. *Grey Friars*, p. 108.

1481. Sir John Clerk. If he died in S. Clement Danes he was to be buried at Friars Minors. He left 4*l.* to the Friars Minors of London to pray for his soul, and to the Friars of Aylesford 10*s.*

Will dated 21 March, 1480, "incipiente." Proved 10 March, 1480-1. 2 Logge.

His tomb was at the south-east corner of the seventh bay of the middle of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 117.

1481. † Laurence Fyncham. Bequeathed a jewel of the value of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the Friars Minors of London, and also one of the torches used at his burial at S. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street.

Will dated 27 December, 1480. Proved 9 February, 1481. 3 Logge.

He was a fishmonger. See *Stonor Letters*, i, p. xxix.

1483. * Richard Parys, innholder. "To be buried in the body of the Church of the ffrere mynours of London. For my buriall ther to be had vj *s.* viij *d.* To the wardyn and Convent for to fet my body to burying and for an obite ther for me to be had and done and song Dirige and mass of Requiem, vj *s.* viij *d.*"

Will dated 1 Aug., 1483. Proved 1 Sept., 1483. *Comm. Lond.*, Lichfeld, f. 116.

1484. John Fernandes, of S. Olave, Southwark. To be buried at "Gray Freres," and to have "an abite of the moost poverest frere ther of th' Order of Saint Fraunces aboute my body at the tyme of my passing oute of this world, and to be buried in the same abite, for the which same abite so to be had I geve and bequeth to the said powere ffreres viij *s.* viij *d.* for a newe abite. Item, I bequeth to the said hous of Grey ffreres so that they may fecche my body to the same place and also to sing and say for my soule in the day of my burying masse and dirige be note with other divine service as longeth for a brother of the same place for to have, and with masse and dirige at the moneth day, and also dirige and masse at the xijth moneth day, liij *s.* iiij *d.*"

Will dated 12 Feb., 1483-4. Proved 11 March, 1483-4. 8 Logge.

His tomb was "coram altaribus" before the Altar of the Holy Cross. *Grey Friars*, p. 109.

1485. * John Portman, taylour. "To be buryed in the body of the churche of the freers menours within Newgate. For my burying ther to be had x *s.*" Left 5*s.* to the Friars for two trentals.

Will dated 20 Dec., 1484. Proved 31 Jan., 1484-5. *Comm. Lond.*, Lichfeld, f. 22.

1485. * John Crowland. To be buried at "Grey ffreres in London," or where he died. "I bequeth to the forseid ffreres a baner cloth for ther crosse."

Will dated 11 May, 1484. Proved 13 March, 1484-5. 21 Logge.

1485. William Gee. To be buried in the Conventual Church of the Friars Minors, "coram ymagine beate Marie Virginis in nave eiusdem ecclesie."

Will dated 27 September, 1485. Proved 3 November, 1485. 17 Logge.

Gee was buried in the second row in the third bay of the North Aisle, his grave being the last but one from the arcade. The Image of the Virgin must be the same as that referred to in the Will of William Hoton in 1447. *Grey Friars*, p. 120.

1485. Sir John Blount, Lord Mountjoy. To be buried "in the chapell within the Church of the Freres Mynors at London, in the which my Lord, my fader, is buried, and in such place as it shall be thought unto the Wardeyn this moost convenient. . . . I bequeth also to the house of freres mynors aboveseide xx *l.*, and my best chalys and also my vestment of white with a reede Orpheries." There was to be "no grete pompyous herse about my body"; the money that would be spent thereabout was to be given to the poor. There is provision for performance of his father's will, "as it appereth by writing in a Cofyr at the Gray freres in London."

Will dated 6 Oct., 1485. Proved 22 Nov., 1485. 27 Logge.

He died on 14 October, 1485, and was buried in the first bay of the Apostles Chapel, in a raised tomb in the arch between the Chapel and the Choir. *Grey Friars*, p. 90.

1486. Thomas Donton, pewterer, of S. Ewen's. To be buried in the body of the Church of the Friars Minors on the north part.

Will dated 31 Oct., 1486. Proved 17 Nov., 1486. *Comm. Lond.*, Lichfeld, f. 58.

Buried in the sixth bay of the North Aisle of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 123.

1488. † William Brereton, stacioner, buried at S. Nicholas Shambles. Left 10*s.* to the Friars Minors for a trental. "Also I bequeth to the Wardeyn and Covent of the same frires mynours a awter cloth to serve there at the awter called the Common Awter."

Will dated 2 July, 1488. Proved 15 July, 1488. *Comm. Lond.*, Lichfeld, f. 128.

1488. Elizabeth Uvedale, late wife of Sir Thomas Uvedale, and daughter of Sir Henry Norbury. To be buried before the High Altar in the Hospital of S. Thomas the Martyr in Southwark, if she died in London or Southwark, or else in the "Gray ffreres" of London or at S. Mary Overey. A cope was to be made of her blue velvet gown, and a chasuble of her tawny velvet gown, for the use of the Church where she was buried; she also bequeathed a chalice of silver gilt, weight 30 oz., and two honest cruets of silver, weight 80 oz., to serve at the Altar before which she was buried. "I bequeth to the Gray Feres of London C. li. to thentent to have a masse ther morteysid perpetuall, and myn obite onys a yere for ever. And the mortesying to be made as fine as it canne be Immediatly after my deceasse or els at the freres prechours, where ye may have moost suerte of contynuaunce as canne be thought by myne executours and frendes."

Will dated 14 October, 1487. Proved 11 August, 1488. 15 Milles.

She was buried at Greyfriars, "coram altaribus," in a raised tomb under the window at the Altar of S. Mary, her father's tomb being between the Altars of S. Mary and the Holy Cross. The Register records that she founded a perpetual chantry. "Morteysid" means conveyed in mortmain. *Grey Friars*, p. 108.

1489. Elizabeth Day. To be buried "in ecclesia conventuali Fratrum Minorum."

Will dated 2 Feb., 1488-9. The date of Probate is not given. 28 Milles.

Probably the wife of Henry Dey, who was buried by her husband in the middle of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 117.

1489. John Arrowe. To be buried "in the holy sepulture atte the Gray ffreres within Newgate of London. Also I bequeth to the same ffreres for my leistowe, dirige, masse, and burying ther, xx *s.*"

Will dated 16 May, 1489. Proved 1 June, 1489. 32 Milles.

His tomb was in the centre of the Nave at the east end. *Grey Friars*, p. 111.

1489. John Att Woode. To be buried "in the Church of the Grayffreres of London, undre the stone where as Margaret my wif is buried." Bequeathed to the Friars for placebo, dirige, and mass of requiem, to be said and sung every day for a month, 15*d.*, or 35*s.* "I wyll that myn executours do to be made an honest suete of vestementes with Dekin and subdekin and iij Copes and a Mortuary Cloth of blac velvett, the Orfraies and Mors with Flowres suche as it pleaseth my executours. And in the Orfreis the skochin of the Grocers Armes with Clowis with this wordis wretin: 'Orate pro anima Johannis Woode' and in the Mors my marc. And the Mortuary Cloth to have a Crosse of whyte Damaske: and at the Hed the skochyn with Clowys, and atte the Fete my marke: and in the myddys of the Crosse the skochyn with Clowys: and the said Cloth to be fringid and Flowrid aboute . . . to the value of lx *l.* sterling: and to be made within the space of iij yeres. And the forsaid sute and mortuary cloth shalbe deliverid into the keping of the Maister of the Fraternite of our Lady and Saint Stephen, founded in the parishe churche of Saint Sepulchre. . . . And I woll that the Mortuary Cloth shalbe yerely brought to the Gray Freres and layde on myn hers at my yeris mynde."

Will dated 17 October, 1489. Proved 4 November, 1489. 29 Milles.

His tomb was in the middle of the Nave in the second bay, with those of his wives Agnes, Margaret, and Edith. The date of his death is given in the Register as 28 Oct., 1487, which is clearly erroneous. *Grey Friars*, p. 112.

1490. John Portland. "To be buryed in the church of the freres of London, mynours. I bequeth to the hous of the same ffryers xiij *s.* iiij *d.*"

Will dated 24 June, 1490. No entry of Probate. *Comm. Lond.*, Harvy, f. 145.

Buried in the middle of the Nave. Called " Portulond " in the Register, where no date is given. The name is clearly an addition by a later hand, and is an instance of omissions which were subsequently corrected. *Grey Friars*, p. 112.

1491. John More, *alias* Norrey rex ad arma. To be buried " in domo ordinis Minorum, London."

Will dated 10 April, 1491. Proved 2 May, 1491. 41 Milles.

His tomb was in the sixth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Francis. *Grey Friars*, p. 99.

1492. Roger Spencer. To be buried " in the Chapell of Saint Barnardyne within the convent church of the freres mynors within Newgate of London." Bequeathed 13*s.* 4*d.* for his sepulture, and to every Friar Minor there " fetchyng my bodye from my house or mansion unto my sepulture within the said Chapell, iiij *d.*" His executors were to provide four conveniable tapers and ten conveniable torches to be " brent aboute my body at the tyme of my dirige and masse of Requiem the day of my burying " ; two of these torches were to be given to the Friars, " one of them to bren at the high aulter ther at levation tyme as long as it may endure ther " ; the other " to bren at levation tyme at the first masse said daily in the Church, etc." To each of the four Orders of Friars in London 3*s.* 4*d.* for placebo, dirige, and mass of requiem. His executors were to keep a yearly obit for his soul at the Friars Minors for five years, and to spend yearly at their discretion 13*s.* 4*d.*

Will dated 8 Jan., 1490-1. Proved 2 March, 1491-2. 29 Dogett.

Spencer was buried in the sixth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Mary. As to the Chapel of S. Bernardine *see* p. 65 above. *Grey Friars*, p. 85.

1492. Thurstan Hatfeld. To be buried at Grey Friars " in the Chapell there where at the body of the old Lord Mongey lyeth buryed." A priest was to pray

there for a year after his decease, to say De Profundis, and to cast holy water upon his grave, and to have for his labour 33*s.* 4*d.* His executors were to dispose "to the fryers for my dirige and mass of requiem, and to poor people holding torches at my burying," 53*s.* 4*d.*

Will dated 3 March, 1491-2. Proved 26 March, 1492. 29 Dogett.

His tomb was in the second bay of the Choir in the Apostles Chapel. *Grey Friars*, p. 91.

1492-3. Robert Houghton. To be buried "in the church yarde of the grey ffreres of London, in the nether partie therof, where the body of William my brother there lieth buried." Bequeathed 10*s.* for a trental of masses.

Will dated 18 January, 1492. Proved 21 January, 1492. 20 Dogett.

His tomb was in the third bay of the North Aisle of the Nave, where he and his brother William lay "sub parvo lapide." Since William had apparently died before Robert, the "church yarde" must presumably have meant the Nave. For William Hoton *see* under date 1447. *Grey Friars*, p. 120.

1493. * John Lawrence. To be buried with his wives in the Church of the Friars Minors, to whom he bequeathed 20*s.* "pro loco sepulture et pro labore suo." The Friars were to celebrate mass and obit by note on the day of his burial, for which he left 20*s.*

Will dated 24 April, 1493. Proved 2 May, 1493. 26 Dogett.

1493. * Rowland Hevysonne. To be buried at the "Grey Fryers," and left 6*s.* 8*d.* for five trentals of masses. "For my pytt there to be hadd, vj *s.* viij *d.* To the reparation of the same place, vj *s.* viij *d.*

Will dated 17 September, 1493. Proved 24 September, 1493. 25 Dogett.

1493. † Agnes Arnold, widow. "Wher as I have and hold to me and myn assignes for terme of xx^ti^ yeris the Tenement Brewhouse called the Lampe before the Grey freers within Newgate of London, I woll that myn

executours of the Issuys and profyttes commyng of the same yerly after my dissease distribute and dispose in the said Grey fryers for an obite there to be kept for my soull and all my frendis soullis, vj *s.* viij *d.* That is to say, iij *s.* iiij *d.* to be gevyn and spent amonges the same ffreres, and the other iij *s.* iiij *d.* to be distribute amonges pore pepull."

Will dated 6 Dec., 1493. No Probate given. *Comm. Lond.*, Harvy, f. 74.

Possibly the widow of John Arnold, who had the Image of Our Lady of Pity made. Her executor was William Breggys, who was buried in the Nave in 1517. *Grey Friars*, pp. 116-19.

1494. Ralph Hudson. "To be buried in the gray ffreres before our Lady of Pyte."

There are two Wills, dated 27 June, without year: the one, 3 Holgrave, proved 13 January, 1493-4; the other, 31 Blamyr, proved 9 Oct., 1503. In the latter Will administration was granted to John Cleton, who was buried in the same place in 1505.

Hudson's tomb was at the south of the second bay in the North Aisle of the Nave. Gilbert Belamy (p. 118 below), who was to be buried before Our Lady of Pity, lay at the south of the door into the Chapel of S. Mary's Altar. This confirms the statement in the Will of Alice Lucas 1524: that the Image was in the corner on the right hand of that door (*see* p. 67 above).

In the Register the date of death is given as 27 June, 1530; this is probably an error for 1503, which may be the date of his wife's death. *Grey Friars*, pp. 118-19.

1494. John Ryver, skinner, late of S. Austyne, Watlyngstrete. To be buried in the body of the Church of the Friars Minors "nygh unto the place where the body of Johan my wyfe there lyeth buried." Mentions son John, and that he was born at Benstede, in the county of Southampton.

Will dated 15 Jan., 1493-4. Probate, without date, probably March 1494. 8 Vox.

He was buried in the second bay in the Centre of the Nave. His son's Will is under 1506. *Grey Friars*, p. 112.

1494. * Robert Coke. To be buried at Friars Minors, London, "juxta corpus Johannis filii mei."

Will dated 15 August, 1494. Proved 5 November, 1494. 19 Holgrave.

Neither John nor Robert Coke appears in the Register.

1495. John Fowler. To be buried "in the body of the church of the Gray freris in London, and I bequeth to the same place for my burying ther to be hadde xx *s.*" Mentions wife Alis.

Will dated 30 April, 1493. Proved 9 Jan., 1494-5. 22 Vox.

His tomb was under the window in the seventh bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Mary. *Grey Friars*, p. 87.

1495. Richard Tyrry. To be buried in "the body of the church of the Gray frers in London, ther as my two children lieth buried." Mentions his wife Elizabeth.

Will dated 20 July, 1495. Proved 15 Dec., 1495. 29 Vox.

His tomb was in the centre of the fifth bay of the North Aisle of the Nave. The Register gives his wife's name as Margaret: perhaps Elizabeth was a second wife *Grey Friars*, p. 123.

1497. William Gage. "To be buried within the Church of the Gray freris of London, next unto the sepulture of William Chamberleyn, esquire. . . . To the said Church of Grayfreris for my sepulture to be had and to the entent that the brethern of the same place fetch my body to the erth and do a trentale to be songe for my soule, xl *s.*"

Will dated 14 Feb., 1496-7. Proved 24 Oct., 1497. 10 Horne.

Gage was buried next Chamberleyn in the fifth bay of the Choir in S. Mary's Chapel. *Grey Friars*, p. 83.

1497. Thomas Butside. "My body to be buried within the church of the grey ffreres within Newgate in London, and they to have for my burying place and for the fetting of my body to the same churche xl *s.* . . . I will that myn executours do to make a plate w^t^ Scriptour

to be sett oon the wall or pillour nere the place where my body shall ly, w^t^ out any stone lying upon me or any other tumbe. . . . I will that vi prestes of Pappey shall bere my body to the church and so forth to the Grey freris, and every of theym to have viij *d.*"

Will dated 6 March, 1497. Proved 9 June, 1497. 13 Horne.

He was buried under the window in the second bay of the North Aisle of the Nave, according to the Register "sub lapide"; the Register appears to reproduce part of the inscription. *Grey Friars*, p. 118.

1498. Richard Chirchyerd, of Shoplond, Essex. If he died about London he was to be buried at the "Grey Friers."

Will dated 12 March, 1495-6. Proved 22 May, 1498. 20 Horne.

He was a fellow of Gray's Inn, and was buried with his wife in the fourth bay of the North Aisle of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 121.

1498. Gilbert Belamy. To be buried in the "Gray friers within Newgate of London: that is to saye in the bodie of the same church byfor the Image of our Lady of Pitie there." For his "sepulture there to be had" 6*s.* 8*d.* "To the Warden and Covent of the same place to fech my bodie at my parishe church, and they to sey for my soule placebo and dirige, xx *s.*"

Will dated 7 May, 1498. Proved 10 June, 1498. 22 Horne.

He was buried in the second bay of the North Aisle of the Nave on the south side of the entry to the Altar of S. Mary. For the Image of Our Lady of Pity *see* pp. 67–8 above. *Grey Friars*, p. 118.

1498. † Richard Triplarde. Buried at S. Nicholas Flesh Shambles. "The Grey Friers to bring my body to my sepulture and synge dirige and mas solemply by not for my soule within there owne place, and for the same to be had and done I geve and bequeth to theym xx *s.*"

Will dated July 1498. Proved 22 Aug., 1498. 24 Horne.

1498. * Thomas Paynell. To be buried "at the churche of friers mynors of London"; his executors to pay at their discretion. Left his messuage or place called Paynelles in Norgate Strete, Clare, Suffolk, to his brother Richard.

Will dated 24 August, 1498. Proved 10 September, 1498. 24 Horne.

1498. Margaret Chircheyard, widow of Richard Chircheyard, gentleman. To be buried "within the body of the Chirche of the Gray ffreers within Newgate," by her husband. "For my burial to be had and to pray for me," 20*s*.

Will dated 1 Dec., 1498. Proved 20 Dec., 1498. 27 Horne.

She was buried in the fourth bay of the North Aisle of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 121.

1500. Richard Godfrey. To be buried in the Church of "Grey Freres" with his wives Alice and Emma. Bequeathed 20 marks to the "Wardeyn and brethern of the said place of the Grey Frerys towardes the sustentacion and werkes therof, for my burial to be had and made as is aforesaid, and for an obite by note the day of my deceasse yerly duryng xx^ti^ yeres."

Will dated 15 January, 1499-1500. Proved 16 July, 1500. 9 Moone.

He was buried in the middle of the Nave at the east end, immediately before the door into the Choir. *Grey Friars*, p. 111.

1501. Margaret Yonge. To be buried in the south part of the Grey Friars Church at London: "that is to say afore the ymage of our Lady within the valens of the said church." Bequeathed 10*s*. to the High Altar; to the "Wardeyn and Covent" 10*l*., to sing once in every year for twenty years placebo, and dirige and a mass of requiem by note, and also to say a trental of masses for the soul of her and her husband John Yonge.

" To the hows of the Ostrye of the same hows and ffreris ij basynes, ij ewers, ij playne towelles and half a garnyssh of peawtre vessell with a charger therto. Also I bequeath to the Office of the Kichin of the same ffreres a Cawderyn, with ij Rynges of Iron, my best brass pott, a Spitt, and ij Rakk of yron."

" Rauf Hasilden, doctour of dyvinite, oon of the said ffreris," was appointed to be one of her executors.

Will dated 6 March, 1497. Proved 16 March, 1500-1. 20 Moone.

The "valens" was probably the screen between the Altars and the Nave. Margaret Yonge's tomb was immediately within the screen, before the Jesus Altar, which was on the south side; having regard to the explicit terms of the Will, it would seem that this was where she intended to be buried, and consequently that there was an Image of the Virgin there. This Will contains what is perhaps the only definite reference to the "Ostrye" or guest-house. Friar Ralph Hasilden is mentioned only here. *Grey Friars*, pp. 110, 237.

1501. Stephen Kelk, citizen and goldsmith. To be buried in the Church of the Grey Friars of London. " To the friers to fett my body to my sepulture and for my burienge ther to be had " 40*s*., and for a trental of masses 10*s*. " I bequeth xxvj *s*. viij *d*. for a marble stone to be ordeyned by my executours to ley on my grave."

Will dated 10 June, 1500. Proved 28 July, 1501. 1 Blamyr.

Probably the Stephen Kelke who was buried in the centre of the sixth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Mary with his wives Katherine and Joan. The Register has the date of death 7 July, 1415, probably an error for 1501; but there is no mention of his wives in the Will. Another Will was not proved till 1511, but seems to belong to the same Stephen Kelk. *Grey Friars*, p. 85.

1502. Thomas Grayson. " Oon of the wrecches of this worlde." To be buried " in the myddes of the Church of the Grey Freres of London." His executors were to " ordeyne a stone to lye upon my grave with an ymage of a yard longe closed in a shete kynt at both endes of the same ymage."

Will dated 22 December, 1501. Proved 31 January, 1501-2. 14 Blamyr.

He lay in the middle of the Nave. The date in the Register (1520) is an error for 1502. *Grey Friars*, p. 113.

1502. John Ebson. To be buried in the Church of Grey Friars, " nere unto the tombe of Maister Maryner there." To the Convent, " to fetche my body thider," 40*s*. William Maryner an executor.

Will dated 18 April, 1502. Proved 25 April, 1502. 8 Blamyr.

He was buried in the third bay in the North Aisle of the Nave, where, after the record of Maryner's tomb, the Register has the entry " et in eodem loco jacet Johannes Hebson." Maryner did not die till 1512, but in his Will he describes his tomb as already made, probably after the death of his first wife Agnes in 1500. *See* p. 127 below. *Grey Friars*, p. 119.

1504. * Sir Henry Heydon. " My synful carkeys, if I dye in Norff., to be buried in the Cathedrall Church of the same shire in the chapell where as my'faders body lyith buryed, that is to say ayenst the West ende of his grave. And if I happe to decesse in London then I to be buried in the grey freres of London in the Chapell of our Lady." In the latter case the Prior is to have 6*s*. 8*d*., the sub-prior 5*s*., and every other friar 8*d*.

Will dated 20 Feb., 1503-4. No date of Probate. 23 Holgrave.

As his name does not appear in the Register Heydon probably died in Norfolk.

1505. * John a Cleton. " To be buried within the Grey freers Church in London, as nyghe unto our Lady of Pitie as may be conveniently." He refers to his mother as Agnes Cleton.

Will dated 8 Sept., 1505. Proved 24 Oct., 1505. 38 Holgrave.

As to Our Lady of Pity *see* p. 67 above.

1506. * Henry Pykenham. To be buried in the Church of " the Fryers Mynors of London, if my goodes will strethe thereunto."

Will dated 3 November, 1505. Proved 13 January, 1505-6. 1 Adeane.

1506. Thomas Hastynges. To be buried "in the conventual church of the Freers Minors, within Newgate, where the body of Agnes, late my wif, lyith buryed. . . . To the freres for my burying with theym to be had and to pray for my soule, xx *s.* To freres prechours of London, toward the building of ther cloister, iij *l.* vj *s.* viij *d.*" He made a bequest to the High Altar of S. Nicholas Wolhouse, at London.

Will dated 2 May, 1506. Proved 12 May, 1506. 6 Adeane.

He was buried in the second bay of the North Aisle of the Nave. His wife Agnes had died in 1500. It is not clear what church is meant by "S. Nicholas Wolhouse," but perhaps it may be a corruption for S. Nicholas Olave; Hastynges was a fishmonger, and S. Nicholas Olave was close to a fishmongers' quarter. *Grey Friars*, p. 118.

1506. * Richard Rogers. Buried at S. Botolph, Billingsgate. Left 10*s.* "to the priour and Convent of the house of Gray ffryers of London, where I am a broder, to pray for my soule."

Will dated 17 April, 1506. Proved 2 Oct., 1506. 11 Adeane.

1506. Thomas Huddylston. "To be buried in the body of the church of the Fryers Mynores within Newgate. . . . And for my burying ther to be had I give and bequeth such certeyn dutie as is accustumed for the same in that behalf to be had." Left 10*s.* for a trental of masses at Grey Friars.

Will dated 3 October, 1506. Proved October, 1506. 11 Adeane.

He was buried in the middle of the Nave in the sixth bay. *Grey Friars*, p. 116.

1506. * John Ryver. To be buried in the body of the Church of the Friars Minors "that is to wite in the same place wher the body of John Ryver my fader ther

restith buried. To the Wardeyn and Convent for my burying ther to be had and to the workes of the same church, xx *s.*"

Will dated 28 November, 1500. Proved 13 December, 1506. 14 Adeane.

A son of John Ryver, skinner, who died 13 Feb. 1494–5, and was buried in the middle of the Nave. The son does not appear in the Register. *See* the father's Will under 1494.

1507. * Elizabeth Sothill. To be buried "at the Gray Freeres at London in that same place that my sone Henry Sotehill is buryed, and my hert to be take out of my body and buryed at Stokfaston by my housbonde."

Will undated. Proved 16 February, 1506-7. 19 Adeane.

Henry Suttell, or Sothyll, of Stokefaston, Leicestershire, died in 1505 and was buried at Grey Friars in the sixth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Francis. *Grey Friars*, p. 98.

1509. John Talley. To be buried in the Church of the "Grey ffreres," within Newgate. "Also I bequeth x *l.* for my burial ther to be had, and for my dirige and masse of requiem ther to be solemply kept and doon, and to thentent that they shall provide daiely to pray for my soule with this collect, *Deus cui proprium : Minor*, at the masse ther kept at vij of the cloke in the fore none of the day and at their high masse, during the space of three yeres next and immediatly ensuyng my decesse. Also I bequeth to Doctour Standish, mynister of the same place, to pray for my soule, xx *s.* Also I bequeth to M^r^ Wardeyn of the same place to pray for my soule, xiij *s.* iiij *d.* Item, I bequeth to every doctour of the said place to pray for my soule, iij *s.* iiij *d.* Item, I bequeth to every bacheller of divynitie and scoller ther to pray for my soule, ij *s.* Also I bequeth to every preest of the place to pray for my soule, xij *d.* Also I bequeth to every brother of the same place beyng freer to pray for my soule, vj *d.* . . . Also I bequeth x *l.* for my tombe to be made and doon within the church of the gray ffreeres aforesaid, ther as my body shall rest buried, to be made after the tombe of

the doctour Hallyswele beyng within the church of the blake freeres in London."

He left *5l.* for 24 torches and 4 tapers to burn at his burying. To Friar Davy, of Carmarthen, towards his exhibition to make him doctor, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To the Friars Minors of Carmarthen 10 marks. "Doctour Standissh, provynshall of the grey friers of Englond," was a witness.

Will dated 15 October, 1509. Proved 15 December, 1509. 23 Bennett.

Talley or Tavlle, who was Chancellor of St. David's, was buried at the east end of the South Aisle in a raised tomb under the window to the right of the Altar—probably the Altar of S. Louis. The Will shows that Standish was Provincial as early as 1509 (*see* p. 73 above). *Grey Friars*, p. 124.

1510. William Kebyll. To be buried at the Grey Friars: "that is to wete bifore the aulter of seynt Michell on the south side of the same covent church within the parclose there redy made of tymber and pyked with yron pykes: ffor the which my burying place there soo to be hadde, and the which to me ys graunted by the Wardeyn and Covent of the saide place, I have redy contentid, paid and delivered beforehand unto M^r^ Doctour Cuttler, nowe beyng there Wardeyn, and to M^r^ Marshall, of the same place, three angelles of gold in value of xx *s.*, and a maser with the bande and borsell of silver and gilt, conteynyng a large quarte, and weying x ounces di., di. quart., whereof and wherwith they have knowleched to hold theym fully satisfied and contentid, and soo they doo holde theym fully satisfied and contentid for my said laystowe and burying place ther soo to be had in maner and fourme aforsaid." Ten shillings were bequeathed to every of the five houses of Friars in London to sing placebo, dirige and mass of requiem. "Item, I bequeth unto the saide place of Gray freers iij *l.* vj *s.* viij *d.*, to be delivered unto the Wardeyn of the same place in fyve yeres next ensuyng after my decesse: that is to wete yerely xiij *s.* iiij *d.*, whereof I wold that x *s.* of the said yerely xiij *s.* iiij *d.* shalbe to thuse of the same place, and the iij *s.* iiij *d.* yerely residue I woll shalbe for a repaste to be

had and made amonges the covent of the same place and to theym to be delivered to the same cause, to thentent and under condicion as it foloweth : that is to wite I woll that the saide Wardeyn and Covent yerely during the saide v yeres nexte after my decesse shall doo cause to be songe and saide for my soule and all cristen soules within their Covent Church v masses of the v woundes of our Lord Jesu Crist at v severall convenyent tymes, that is to wite at every oon tyme oon masse oonlye of the v woundes, soo that v masses may soo be songen and saide every yere duryng the said v yeres ; and over that twoo masses by note every yere to be songen and said by the saide Wardeyn and Covent in their said Covent church for my soule and all cristen soules at such seasons as shall seme theym moost convenyent to be doon by the good advise and discrecion of myn executors ; the oon of the said twoo masses so to be songen solemply by note, to be of that high and moost glorious name of Jhesus : and the other of the blessid nativitie of his glorious moder and Virgyn Immaculate, our blessed seynt Mary. And thes said twoo masses to be songen yerely by note duryng the v yeres as I have afore appoyntid the v masses to be doon."

If the bequest was refused by the Grey Friars it was to go to the Crutched Friars, and if they refused, to the White Friars.

Will dated 9 August, 1509. Proved 18 Jan., 1509–10. 23 Bennett.

William Kebyll is presumably to be identified with "—— Kepell, civis et aurifaber," who was buried before the Common Altar, which we know was also called the Altar of S. Michael. Kepell lay "in plano" in the tomb next to that of Sir John Devereux, which was between the Common and Jesus Altars : the description "in plano" does not well accord with the elaborate tomb which, according to his Will, was already prepared. Yet the Register was compiled within twenty years of his death. For the importance of this Will for the succession of Guardians *see* p. 73 above. *Grey Friars*, p. 105.

1510. Thomas Pykeryng. To be buried at Grey Friars, "in the ambulatory bifore the choir, and I will

that the forsaid place have for my burying xl*s*., and the covent to fetche my body to ther place. Item, I bequeth to the Covent and place to have a broder, beyng a preest signed by the Wardeyn of the Covent, to syng daily masse the space of an hole yere for my soule and for the soule of my grand moder, x marks." His son William was to have a basin and ewer of silver, on condition that he " find and stablissh at the friars an anniversary, that is to say a dirige and a masse sung by note, to be continually done on that day that I shall depart out of this world." One witness was " Frater Johannes Hervy."

Will dated 15 May, 1510. Proved 20 July, 1510. 30 Bennett.

His tomb was about the middle of the Walking place. He came from Yorkshire. For his Will *see* also *North Country Wills*, i, 82 (Surtees Soc.). *Grey Friars*, p. 104.

1510. William Aleyn. To be buried at Grey Friars, " before the aulter of seynt Mighell within the valence of the same freers." For his burial there, 4*l*. To each of the four Orders of Friars in London, 10*s*.

Will dated 1 August, 1510. Proved 4 October, 1510. 32 Bennett.

Mr. Shepherd (*Archæological Journal*, 1902) places Aleyn's tomb close to the valence before the Jesus Altar, but only just inside the doorway leading to the Common Altar, or Altar of S. Michael. For the " valence " *see* p. 66 above. *Grey Friars*, p. 110.

1511. John Robynson, citizen and broderer of London. To be buried in the " Conventuall Church of Freer Minors in the Cite of London." His body to be brought from his house " atte Vyne " in Battersea, to the Parish Church there, and thence after dirige by water to Broken Wharf. " I will that the iiij orders of freires in London and the preestes of Pappey doo receyve my body at Broken Warf and bring it to the conventuall church of freirs Minors aforsaid." Each Order and the priests were to have 6*s*. 8*d*. for their labour. His executors were to provide 12 torches to be carried by 12 poor men from his house to the church, and thence to Broken Wharf and

Grey Friars. "I will my executors provide and ordeyne a convenient stone off marbill after their discretions, to be leyd upon my grave with my name and picture, my wives and childerns pictures to be graven in laten and fixed in the same stone." There was to be a trental of masses at the Friars Minors the day before his burial. "To the Warden and Convent of Freres Minors for my burying place to be had within ther sayd church, if they suffre me to be buried in such a place as I have appoynted with theym, xx *s.*"

Will dated 19 Aug., 1511. Proved 4 September, 1511. 3 Fetiplace.

He was buried, "coram altaribus," at the south-east corner of the Chapel of the Holy Cross Altar. *Grey Friars*, p. 106.

1512. William Maryner. To be buried "in the body of the Conventual Church of the Freers Minors by the body of Agnes, late my wife, there as my sepulture or tombe is redy made." He bequeathed: "for the reparacion and paving of the said conventuall church, to thentent there to be prayed for amongst other benefactors, x *l.*: for the exhibucion of a vertuous scoler of the said friers minors to be provided and ordeyned by the good discrecion of the wardeyn of the same place, v *l.*": for the reparation of the church, 40*s.*; to the high altar, 6*s.* 8*d.*: to every friar present at his burying, 4*d.*

Will dated 31 March, 1512. Proved 28 April, 1512. 8 Fetiplace.

He was buried in the third bay of the North Aisle of the Nave in a raised tomb under the window. His wife Agnes had died in 1500, and in 1502 John Ebson had directed that he should be buried "near unto the tomb of Master Maryner," indicating that it had already been erected (*see* p. 121 above). *Grey Friars*, p. 119.

1512. * Thomas Strangways, of Wimborne S. Giles, Dorset. "If I departe in London, to be buried in the Gray freres there. . . . To freres mynors of London for two trentals, v *s.*"

Will dated 8 April, 1512. Proved 1 Dec., 1512. 13 Fetiplace.

1513. Richard Hastings, Lord Wilughby. "To be buried in the Grey freres in London, in suche place within the qwere or within the Vestry Chapell of the same freers where as most conveniable may be ordred[1] and agred by the seid lord or his executors and the Wardeyn and his brothers of the same. . . . To the Grayfreers for the breking[2] of the ground, leyng of my seid body within oon of the seid places afore rehersed and a tombe to be made for me according to the seyd agrement, and they to sey for me daly a masse x yeres next Immediatly after my decesse, ther as my body shall be buried be or afore and they to pray for my soule x *l.* To the four orders to bring my body to buriall and sing dirige and mass of Requiem and do a trental of masses, 20*s.* each."

Will dated 18 August, 1510. Proved 5 Oct., 1513. 26 and 29 Blamyr. Will and Testament.

There are similar provisions for burial in both Will and Testament. The extract above is from 26 Blamyr, with two words corrected from 29 Blamyr. Richard, Lord Willoughby and Welles, was buried with his wife in a raised tomb of alabaster in the centre of the All Hallows Chapel, which adjoined the Vestry. *Grey Friars*, p. 77.

1517. Julyan Maryner, widow of William Maryner. To be "honestly beryd in the covent churche of the gray ffreers, that ys to wytte as nye the bueryng place wher the body of William Maryner late my husband lyeth." To the High Altar at the Friars for tithes forgot, 6*s.* 8*d.* To the Warden and Convent, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, "to thentent that [illegible] the same Warden and Covent for the tyme being" daily during 200 years after her death say mass for her soul and [illegible] for the souls of her husbands William Poynton, Robert Lynne, John Blowbold, and William Maryner. One overseer of her Will was "John Cutler, doctor of divinite and lat W[illegible] Gardayn of the gray ffreers of London."

Will dated 21 Oct., 1516. Proved 30 July, 1517. *Comm. Lond.*, Bennet, f. 37.

[1] 26 Blamyr, "ordined [illegible]an."

[2] 26 Blamyr, "buring."

For William Maryner's Will *see* under 1512. In the Register the date of Juliana's death is left blank; one may suspect that it had never been filled in on the original (*Grey Friars*, p. 119). The description of Cutler as "lat Wardayn" may mean no more than "now or late"; if he had ceased to be Warden on 21 Oct., 1516, he must have resumed office afterwards. *See* p. 73.

1518. * John Aldryge, of London, grocer. "To be buried at the gray ffreres in London."

Will nuncupative. Proved 11 Feb., 1518-19. 5 Ayloffe.

1518. Edward Assheley. To be buried "in the Church of the Freres Mynors of London, before Saint Mighell awter, otherwise called the Comyn awter." He bequeathed "to the grey ffreres to pray for my soul, to fett my body and to bury it in the place named, and there to keepe my dirige and masse by note," 40*s*.

Will dated 26 May, 1518. Proved 12 June, 1518. 8 Ayloffe.

He was buried before the Common Altar. *Grey Friars*, p. 110.

1519. † Sir Richard Rede. "I woll have at the Grey Freres in London two trentalls songe for my soule of two goode vertuous freres there, gevyng either of them for the same x*s*. And I bequeth to the Warden and Covent of the same Grey Freres xx *s*. in money for the which I will have theym synge devoutly for my soule a solempne dirige and masse of requiem of all the convent there as sone as it may be with gode and spedy diligence after my decesse, and the daies of the same dirige and masse songe for my soule by theym specially and devoutly recommended in theyr quere and Chapter house to all theyr suffrages and praiers." Similar bequests to the other three houses of Friars in London.

Will dated 29 December, 1518. Proved 24 Jan., 1518-19. 13 Ayloffe.

Sir Richard Rede, who was Chief Justice, had his London house in the Old Bailey. He was buried in the Chapel of S. Katherine at the Charterhouse.

1519. Nicholas Pembyrton. To be buried "yn the gray freeres yn London on the north syde of the quere

yn the lytyll chapell cawlyd our lady chapell by the organs." Left 10*s.* to the Friars.

Will dated 3 Oct., 1519. Proved 22 Oct., 1519. *Comm. Lond.*, Bennet, f. 129.

Nicholas Pembyrton or Pemerton was buried in the seventh bay of the Choir in S. Mary Chapel. The organ was presumably at the extreme west end of the Chapel. *Grey Friars*, p. 87.

1520. Margaret Assheley. To be buried "in the same place wher the body of my housbande Edwarde Asshelay now restith." Bequeathed to each Order of Friars at her burial, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Will dated 25 May, 1520. Proved 26 June, 1520. 31 Ayloffe.

She was buried by her husband, who died in 1518 (*see* p. 129 above), before the Common Altar. *Grey Friars*, p. 110.

1520. John Tresawell. To be buried "in the church of the ffrieres Minors in London, where my wif lithe buried. I will that myn executours do make the daye, yere, and moneth of my deceas to be graven and putt in my epithafe upon my stone before it be layde on my grave agayne. I bequeth to the place of the seid ffrieris Mynors xx marcs sterling to be paid every yere xiij *s.* iiij *d.* til the said xx marcs be paid, to the entent that the Warden and Convent of the same place and their successours during the term of xx yeres after my deceas do kepe my obite in the said churche for my soule, my wifis soule, our faders and moders soules, oure benefactors soules, and all cristen soules, and the same daye to synge a trentall of masses duryng the said xx yeres. To the Wardeyn of the said Frieris Mynours xxiij *l.* vj *s.* viij *d.* to find a friar to syng for my soule, etc., for the terme of vij yeres."

Will dated 28 April, 1519. Proved 19 November, 1520. 3 Maynwaring.

He was buried in the very middle of the Nave, in the fourth bay, by his wife Margery, who died in 1510. *Grey Friars*, p. 113.

1521. * John Felde, cook. To be buried "yn the churche of the gray freers." Left the Friars, for his

grave and for bringing him to his parish church and thence to Grey Friars, 20*s*.

Will dated 17 November, 1520. Proved 21 January, 1520-1. *Comm. Lond.*, Bennet, f. 172.

1521. Robert White, citizen and grocer. To be buried "before the ymage of our lady of pytie in the gray fryers of London, nygh to the place where Cristian, my wyff, lieth buryed." Left for his burial 10*s*. To every priest of the house to say dirige and mass 4*d*., to every novice 2*d*. "Master doctor Cutler, Warden of the Grey frerys," was overseer of the Will.

Will dated 12 June, 1521. Proved 21 June, 1521. *Comm. Lond.*, Bennet, f. 181.

Robert White and his wife were buried in the second bay of the Nave immediately west of the Altars (*Grey Friars*, p. 117). Their tomb was, therefore, close to Our Lady of Pity, as to which *see* p. 67 above. The Will shows that Cutler was Guardian as late as June 1521. If, therefore, Goodfield succeeded him, he can only have held office for a very short time. Alternatively Cutler may have had two terms: the one from 1508 to 1515, and the other from 1518 onwards. Goodfield might then have been Guardian from 1515 to 1518.

1521. * Thomas Dolphyn, of S. Ewen's parish, tailor. "To be buryed in the grene churchyard of the freres mynors within the Cite of London. For the church work of S. Ewen's to help buy a "pair of sensars a pound apiece," 20*s*.

Will dated 21 Nov., 1521. No date of Probate. *Comm. London*, Bennet, f. 188.

1522. Raffe Massey, gentleman, left his lands in Noke, Oxfordshire, to Richard Massey his eldest son, with remainders to other son John and daughters Margaret and Frances. His wife Philippa was executrix. "Master John Cutteler, doctour, Warden of the Grey freres of London," was one of the overseers of his Will. The witnesses include John Cutteler and "Sir Nicholas Newman, frere of the said place."

Will dated 6 April, 1521. Proved 2 May, 1522. *Comm. Lond.*, Bennet, f. 177.

Massey was buried next Alice FitzRauff in the sixth bay of the Choir in S. Francis' Chapel. The Will is important as showing that Cutler was Guardian as late as April 1521. Nicholas Newman signed the Surrender in 1538. *Grey Friars*, p. 97.

1522. * Nicholas White, citizen and skinner. To be buried in "Graye Freres in London, within our lady chapell." His executors were "to cause to be saide or songe a dirige and masse at the Graye Freres during the terme of xx^{ti} yeres, and they to have for the same every yere ij *s.* vj *d.*"

Will dated 9 April, 1521. Proved 15 Feb., 1521-2. 22 Maynwaring.

1522. † John Pette. To be buried before S. Kateryn and S. Margaret Altar at S. Botolph without Aldersgate. "Also I will that the gray freres and the blak freres be at my burying and to sey and singe a dirige for my soule and masse of Requiem on the morowe at their owne houses, whereto they be bounde, for I am a brother of either Religion, and either of them to have for their labour xx *s.*"

Will dated 10 Sept., 1522. Proved 1522. 8 Bodfelde.

1523. Sir Stephen Jenyns. To be buried "in the chapell on the south side of the quere of the conventual church of the ffreres minors of London, under the tombe that I have there prepared for the same entent." Forty tapers to be provided for his funeral and to remain in the church for the use of the same. He bequeathed "x *l.* to those of the same church to pray for my soule"; and to each of the five Orders of Friars 40*s.*

Will dated 29 Jan., 1521. Proved 28 May, 1523. 8 Bodfelde.

He was buried in the fifth bay of the Choir in S. Francis' Chapel, in a raised tomb, at the south side of the door into the "parva capella." The date of his death is given in the Register as 6 May, 1523. *Grey Friars*, p. 94.

1524. John Button. To be buried at "Graye ffreres." His son was to pay from the profits of "all shepe letten to ferme" 5 marks yearly for ten years to the

Grey Friars of London to find a priest "singing daily for me during the said terme."

Will dated 15 Feb., 1523-4. Proved 30 April, 1524. 20 Bodfelde.

He was buried in the middle of the Nave, towards the east end. The date of his death—"12 Feb."—given in the Register is presumably an error for 21 Feb. *Grey Friars*, p. 112.

1524. Alice Lewcas or Lucas, "gentyll woman," of "Sant Stewenes" (S. Ewen's), London. To be buried "before the Imayge of owre lady standyng on the right hand of morow messe aulter within the churche of gray freeres within Newgate in London, betweene the pellor standyng within the burdes and pykes and the fote of owre lady afor sayd. . . . I bequete to the house of the gray frears afor sayd for the brekyng of the grownte wheras my body schull fortune to be buryed and for buryenge of my body ther a goblet of sillver parsell gylt weyng x ounces of troy weight more or lesse."

Will dated 4 Oct., 1524. Proved 17 Oct., 1524. *Comm. Lond.*, Tunstall, f. 53.

Her grave was in the second bay of the Nave, next that of Gilbert Belamy; but the name is an addition, and it is possible that the exact position is not accurately given. But the reference is evidently to Our Lady of Pity, the position of which thus seems to be clearly fixed at the right hand of the entry to the Altar of S. Mary, to which presumably the "morow messe aulter" refers. The "pellor within burdes and pykes" should then be the first column west of the Altars, where was the pulpit; the "burdes and pykes" may refer to a railing round the pulpit, or be a description of the pulpit itself. *Grey Friars*, p. 117.

1525. Alice Almon. To be buried in the Church of "the Freres Minors in London, where the body of my late husband Robert Almon lyeth buried. . . . To the Gray ffreres to thentent they come and bryng my body to my burying place, and also synge a solempne dirige and masse of requiem within their convent churche for my soule and the soule of my said late husbandes soule [*sic*] and all christen soules, xl *s.*"

Will dated 15 Feb., 1524-5. Proved 9 March, 1524-5. 17 Bodfelde.

Robert Almon died in 1510. He and his wife were buried, "coram altaribus," in front of the Altar of the Holy Cross. *Grey Friars*, p. 109.

1525. * JOHN BASFORTH. "To be buried in the Gray freres, etc." To the High Altar of S. Vedast Church, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Will dated 30 May, 1525. Proved 20 July, 1525. 30 Bodfelde.

The reference to S. Vedast shows he was a Londoner.

1525. GEORGE BARETT. To be buried in "Gray ffreres if I die in London." "I wyll that myn executours bestowe upon a marble stone to cover me foure or fyve pounds with myn Image and my wife, and our names to be graven in latten upon the same. . . . I wyll at Wolverton there be made an Image of saint Kateryn in glasse in the wyndowe at the high awter, and my Image on the oon side and my wyffes Image on the other, and at Stamford oon of the Trinite, and at Foxcote oon of Saint James, and an Image of me and my wyffe kneling on every side."

Will dated 18 Jan., 1524-5. Proved 18 Aug., 1525. 36 Bodfelde.

He was buried in a raised tomb under the window wall in the fifth bay of the Choir in S. Francis' Chapel. *Grey Friars*, p. 95.

1526. ROBERT BROWNE. To be buried in "Gray Freres" of London, "in suche place as my executors shall thinke convenient. Oon of the freres prestes within the said place to singe for my soule and all cristen soules within the said churche by the space of iij yeres, and to have for his stipend every yere xvij *s.* iiij *d.* To the prior and convent of the Gray Freres xl *s.*, they therfor to pray for my soul and all cristen soules."

Will dated 3 Sept., 1526. Proved 10 Oct., 1526. 10 Porch.

Buried in the middle of the Nave at the east end. *Grey Friars*, p. 112.

1526. Richard Hanchett. Buried at S. Antonine's. For a trental of masses to each of the four Orders of Friars and to the Crossed Friars, to pray for his soul, 10*s*. To the Black and Grey Friars to bring his body to the burying, 10*s*. each.

Will dated 4 Sept., 1526. Proved 29 Sept., 1526. 11 Porch.

1527. † James Wylford. To be buried at S. Bartholomew the Little, in the Chapel of SS. Nicholas and Katherine, before the Image of S. Katherine. To the Grey Friars "to the entent that they shall come to my burying and say in their church placebo, dirige, and mass, xl *s*." The like to the other four Orders. "I wolle that six shillings and eightpence be given to a ffrere mynor of the place of the ffreres mynors within the Citie of London, beyng a doctor of diuinitie or els a Bacheler of Dyvynytie att leest, yf any such graduate ther can be, to thentent that he on every Good ffryday yere for evermore shall in the Church of Saint Bartholomew the Little preche and make a sarmond of the passion of our Lord from the houre of Syx of the Cloke in the mornyng or theraboutes unto the houre of Nyne of the Cloke before none of every such Good ffrydaye." Failing such graduate some other doctor is to be appointed.

Will dated 27 April, 1526. Proved 12 Jan., 1526-7. 13 Porch.

1527. Sir Thomas Lucy. To be buried at "Graye ffreers," in London. Four great tapers were to be set about his herse and kept burning for a whole year during high mass. Two trentals were to be said at Grey Friars and White Friars. "I will that the iiij orders of ffreers conveye my bodie to the Graye ffreirs above saied": they were to have for their prayers as shall be thought necessary by his executors. "To the graye ffriers of Brigenorth, whereof I am founder, iiij *l*." "I will that within the yere next after my decease there be a grave stone layed uppon my grave and on the same stone my pickture and my wifes and my children with myn Armes at the iiij

corners of the same stone, with suche scripture as myn executors shall devise, to thentent that good people shall have remembrance to praye for my soule."

Will dated 31 July, 1525. Proved 24 July, 1527. 28 Jankyn.

He was buried, "coram altaribus," near the Altar of S. Mary. According to the Register he died on 3 Sept., 1525. *Grey Friars*, p. 108.

1527. * Alice Baynton, widow of John Baynton. "To be buryed within the Grey freers in the grene cloyster there. To the freers for my buryall and to pray for me, x*s*."

Will dated 26 June, 1526. Proved 20 Dec., 1527. *Comm. Lond.*, Tunstall, f. 79.

One John Baynton appears amongst the tenants at Greyfriars in 1544.

1529. Thomas Roos or Rosse. "To be buried within the churche of the Gray freres within Newgate, as nyh unto the pulpytt wher as Elizabeth my late wyfe now lieth buried. To the Wardeyn of the Gray freres for my laystowe, x*s*. To every of the three susters of saint ffraunces order to thentent that they shalbe at dirige and mass of requiem the day of my buriall, viij *d*. I wulle that every frere of the said place, being a preest and being present at the said masse and dirige, shal have for their diligence iiij *d*. And to every frere being preest and to every novesse, ij *d*." One of the witnesses was "frere James Payne."

Will dated 7 Sept., 1529. Proved 15 Oct., 1529. 11 Jankyn.

He was buried in the midst of the Nave, at a short distance from the column separating the second and third bays (*i.e.*, the first column on the north in the Nave proper); the pulpit was probably against this column, on the south side of which there was a space without any tomb. *See* Will of William Robynson on p. 137 below. *Grey Friars*, p. 113.

1529. Stevyn Lynne. "To be buried in the chapell of oure Lady in the Grey fryers of London on the north side of there church. For my burying, fetting from my

parische churche, dirige, mass of requyem, brekyng of the ground, bell-ronging, with all other costes and charges, three pounds. My burial shall be doon . . . without any pompe of the worlde . . . I will that oon of the said brethren of the said Gray Fryers, which shalbe at the assignement of the said Wardeyn, to say mass daily . . . and to say at the lavatory of the said mas every day *De profundis* with the orison following," for the space of three years. His obit was to be kept for eight years after his decease: "that is to say, a solemp dyrige by note and on the morow mas of Requiem, with an hers and twoo tapers burnyng all the said dyrige and mas of Requiem: and they to have for the said dyrige and mas tenne shillings." One witness was "Fryer James Payne, mynoritan, which red the said testament."

Will dated 7 July, 1528. Proved 26 Oct., 1529. 12 Jankyn.

He was buried in the fifth bay of the Choir in the Chapel of S. Mary. *Grey Friars*, p. 81.

1529. William Robynson. "To be buried in the church of the Graye fryers betwene the North Wall of the same church and the pulpit in the same churche."

Will dated 6 July, 1529. Proved 26 Oct., 1529. 12 Jankyn.

He was buried in the second bay of the North Aisle of the Nave, nearly at the end of the last row close to the first pillar west of the Altars, where was the pulpit (*see* Will of Thomas Roos on p. 136 above). *Grey Friars*, p. 118.

1530. William Thomas, one of the Clerks of the Exchequer. "To be buried in the freres mynors within the citie of London, nygh unto the sepulture of Roger Thomas and Elizabeth his wife, my father and mother, before the lityll ymage of our blessed lady in the north side of the body of the said churche. . . . To the Wardeyn or governour of the said church and house of the said freres mynours for my said sepulture there and for his labour and of the brethren there feching me to the said churche and for dirige to be songe at the day of my

burying with masse of Requiem upon the morowe next folowing within the said church, xxvj *s.* viij *d.*"

Will dated 22 April, 1530. Proved 1 July, 1530. 25 Jankyn.

He was buried on the right of William Robynson at the south-west corner of the second bay of the North Aisle of the Nave. The Image of Our Lady here referred to is clearly that of Our Lady of Pity. *See* p. 67 above. *Grey Friars*, p. 119.

1530. Hugh Acton. To be buried in the Church of Grey Friars, " before the pyctour of Seint Mary Magdaleyn standyng in the South Ile of the quere of the same churche, where as I have made a memory." To each of the five Orders of Friars, 10*s.* The witnesses include " Maister Thomas Cudnor, doctour, and ffrater James Payne."

Will dated 7 June, 1530. Proved 13 August, 1530. 26 Jankyn.

He was buried in the sixth bay of the Choir in S. Francis' Chapel, in a raised tomb against the wall between the Chapel and the Choir proper. In this case it is clear that the " pyctour " was either a painting or a carving affixed to the wall. *Grey Friars*, p. 98.

1530. William Hayes. To be buried " in Gray Friars between the quere there and the body of the same churche." To each of the four Orders of Friars, 10*s.* To the Prior and Convent of Grey Friars, for dirige and mass of requiem, 10*s.*

Will dated 16 Aug., 1529. Proved 28 July, 1530. 25 Jankyn.

He was buried near the centre of the Walking place. *Grey Friars*, p. 102.

1530. William Lego, barber-surgeon. To be buried within the Church of the " Graye friers " in London. Mentions his daughters Anne and Alice, who were nuns.

Will dated 15 Aug., 1530. Proved 8 Oct., 1530. 21 Jankyn.

He was buried in the centre of the Nave. *Grey Friars*, p. 114. *See* his wife's Will under date 1543.

1530. Gilbert Eccleston. To be buried " in the

chapell of Allhallows within the conventuall churche of the Freres mynours . . . as nye unto the grave there where the bodies of Kateryne and Agnes my late wifis lye buryed as conveniently may be." To the Prior of "the Friers mynours for my sepulture there to be had," 53*s.* 4*d.* To each of the five Orders of Friars "to bring my body to my burial and for dirige and mass of requiem, and for a trental of masses," 13*s.* 4*d.*

Will dated 12 Aug., 1529. Proved 3 Dec., 1530. 24 Jankyn.

The tombs of Eccleston and his wives were in the second bay of the Choir in the All Hallows Chapel. *Grey Friars*, p. 79.

1531. Buckingham, Eleanor Stafford, Duchess of. "My harte to be buryed within the churche of the gray fryers within the citie of London before the image of Saint Frauncis in the same churche." John Massy, Prior of the Carmelites at Bristol, was a witness to the Will.

Will dated 24 June, 1528. Proved 15 May, 1531. 4 Thower.

The Register gives her burial place as next to the north arch adjoining the High Altar, and does not state that it was only a heart burial. Presumably the directions of her Will were followed, and there was an Image of S. Francis here. The duchess was buried at Whitefriars, Bristol. *Grey Friars*, p. 71.

1531. John Moyle. To be buried in Grey Friars, "in the Ile before the ij aulters of the right hand."

Will dated 31 Jan., 1530-1. Proved 1 August, 1531. 6 Thower.

He was buried in the middle of the Nave, close to the entry to the Jesus Altar on the right-hand side of the door into the Choir. *Grey Friars*, p. 111.

1533. * Thomas Hewett. To be buried at Grey Friars, "in the bodye of the Churche, where as is a table hangyng of Saincte Erasmus in the north syde as you come oute of the west doore." To the Friars for fetching him to the church, 6*s.* 8*d.* "And as for my brother, John Hewett, of Canterbury, never a pennye,

and I hadd as moche Richesse by me as all London wer worth : he shall not fare the better by me, not of a pennye, for the unjust that he hathe don to his brethern and sustern, whiche is not unknowen in Canterbury."

Will dated 23 Feb., 1531-2. Proved 16 Jan., 1532-3. 13 Thower.

The martyrdom of S. Erasmus was a favourite subject with the English alabaster workers. See *English Mediæval Alabaster Work*, pp. 55–7 and 65, and Plate XIII.

1535. * Henry Standish, bishop of S. Asaph, and sometime Provincial. To be buried "inter fratres minores." To the library of the Friars Minors at Oxford, 5 marks. To the Friars Minors of Hereford, 20 marks. To the Friars Minors of Oxford, 10 marks. For a trental at the Friars Minors of London, 10*l.* All his books to be distributed at the discretion "Magistri Johannis [*sic*] Cudnor, sacre theologie doctoris, nunc Gardiani fratrum minorum, London, et magistri Willelmi German ejusdem facultatis." For building an Aisle of the Friars Minors at Oxford, 40*l.*

Will dated 3 July, 1535. Proved 21 Aug., 1535. 26 Hogen.

Standish was actually buried at Grey Friars, London, where his tomb survived till 1666. The above are all the bequests to Franciscans in his Will.

1537. † Nicholas Newton. Left 10*s.* "to the reparacion of the library as in glasynge in the gray fryers."

Will dated 11 Dec., 1536. Proved 3 March, 1536-7. 2 Dyngeley.

1537. * Alys Adams. To be buried in the "Gray Freres" Church of London. "To the Gray Freres of Reding, xl *d.* To every frere there that is preest dwelling in Reding, xij *d.* To the Warden of the Gray Freres of Reding my cupp fashioned like a pere with the cover. To frere John Thornall, x *s.* To the covent of Reding at my month mynde, xl *d.*, and to every frere preest dwelling there, viij *d.*, and to every yong frere, iiij *d.*, and to every boye, ij *d.* To the Gray freres of London, x *s.*"

Will undated. Proved 21 Nov., 1537. 11 Dyngeley.

The date of her death is two years after the latest entry in the Register. John Thornall was a friar of the London house, and signed the deed of Surrender in 1538.

1538. † JOHN HONE. To be buried in S. Luke's Chapel at S. Nicholas atte Flessh Shameles before the Image of S. Mary Magdalen. "I will that the Gray Freres of London as sone after my deceas as may be shall say for my soule and all the soules abovesaid as many masses as ther be preestes in the said house, and I will that every such frere being a preest shall have for his labour viij *d.* And I bequeth to the said house of Gray freres twoo dosyn of Lynkes to brenne at the sakering tyme of the morowe masse there in the mornyng."

Will dated 18 March, 1534-5. Proved 20 May, 1538. 16 Dyngeley.

1539. MICHAEL INGLISSH. "I bequeth to the Freres Mynors called the Greye Freres within Newgate to pray for my soule, the soule of my well-beloved wife Margarete Inglissh, and for to bring my body to the sepulture and do a trentall in their church for my soule and the soules of Margaret late my wife, and the soules of all my benefactors, xx *s.*"

Will dated 1 July, 1527. Proved 30 Jan., 1538-9. 24 Dyngeley.

The Will was not proved till after the Surrender, but Inglish had probably been dead some years. He was alderman of Coleman Street ward from 1524 to 1531. He and his wife may probably be identified with the Michael and Margaret Inglyshe who were buried in the second bay of the North Aisle of the Nave. The Register gives the date of Margaret's death as 23 January, 1507. *Grey Friars*, p. 118.

1539. * ELIZABETH COPLEY. To be buried "in the church of Greye Friers in London. I give unto the Warden and Brethern, fryers of the same house, xx *s.* to them for their paynes and to be prayed for in ther massis, and dirige according to the laudable custome and use. And I will they do singe dirige and masse for me at the tyme of my buryall for the saide xx *s.*"

Will dated 28 Nov., 1535. Proved 5 Feb., 1538-9. 32 Hogen.

This Will was not proved till after the Surrender.

1543. * Ann Lego. To be buried " in the Gray fryers next the sepulture by my housbonde. To the gray fryers amonges theym to be praide for fyve poundes, and to the yonge fryers amonges theyme vj *s.* viij *d.* And to iiij friers to beare me to churche, xij *d.* To John Marsham, fryer, fourteen shillinges and a payre of sheetes and a pillow of doune to the said ffryer."

Will dated 2 Oct., 1537. Proved 28 March, 1543. 5 Pynnyng.

This Will, though not proved for some years after, was made just over a year before the Surrender, and appears to be the latest Will with a bequest for the Friars. Her husband, William Lego, had been buried in the Church in 1530. Ann Lego was apparently a woman of considerable wealth. At her death she was resident within the precinct of the Grey Friars, and her husband may also have resided there. John Marsham does not appear amongst the Friars who signed the Surrender in 1538. *Grey Friars*, pp. 47, 114*n.*, 226, 228.

II. AN ASSAULT ON A FRIAR AT ROYSTON.

20 May, 1394.

This comes from *Early Chancery Proceedings*, 7/262. Friar Geoffrey Torre is known only from this reference to him. The Guardian was probably Robert Hyndon, but it is unfortunate that his name is not given.

Tres reuerent pier en Dieu lercheuesqe Deuerwyke et Chaunceller nostre Seignur le Roy, suppliount le Gardeyn et Geffray Torre son confrere del Couent des freres Menours de Loundres, qe par la ou le dit Geffray fuist a Royston en la Counte de Hertforde la viendrount un John Bradele, John Clerke, John Alayn the Webberysson of Claueryng, altres oue eux a graunt nombre disconnuz, ouesque espees, bokelers, et daggers, le xx iour du Maii, lan le Roy qor est xvij° a Royston susdit, et al dit Geffray illoqes assaut firount, luy baterount, naufrerount et

malement treterunt, issuit qil fuist en despoir de sa vie, et xx *s.* en or et argent dez biens lez ditz Gardeyn et Couent esteant en la garde un John Othe seruant a dit Geffray, illoqes prestrount et enporterount, et vncore le dit Geffray manassent de iour en altre de vie et de membre, issuit qil nosa aproscher le Counte susdit pur doute de mort, a tort et as damages des ditz Gardeyn et Geffray de xl *li.* Qe plese a vostre tres graciouse seignurie graunter certeyns brefs directes a lez persones susditz destre deuaunt vous en lour propre persone en la Chauncellerie nostre dit Seignur le Roy a les eoptas[1] de la Trinite proschein auener, chescun de eux sur peyne de c. *li.*, a respondre as ditz Gardeyn et Geffray de lez tortes et extorcions auauntditz, pur l'amour de Dieu et en couere de charite.

M. Gardiani et fratris supradict. juxta formam statuti, etc. { Johannes Pafford, Henr. ffoleford de Com. Deuon.[2]

III. FRIAR JOHN OLYVER.

The reference to Friar Thomas Wynchelsey shows that the date of this document was before 18 Feb., 1436–1437, and since the chancellor was Bishop of Bath the date must be after 4 March, 1432, when John Stafford took office. Apart from its incidental history of Friar John Olyver, there is little in the document to call for notice beyond the fact that for some reason or other the Queen was in occupation of the Friars' houses ; what the occasion for this was does not appear : the Queen may be Joan of Navarre, who at this time possessed the Earl of Northumberland's Inn, the grounds of which adjoined the Grey Friars at the north-east corner ; Northumberland Inn was in consequence commonly known as "Queen Jane's Wardrobe." Andrew West may possibly be the person of that name who was Vicar of South Mimms in 1423 (*C.P.R.* Henry VI, i, 32). The document is printed in *Early Chancery Proceedings*, i, p. xxxiv (Record Commission, 1827).

[1] *i.e.*, Oeptes *or* octaves.

[2] The "plegii de prosequendo" for the Guardian and Friars.

Unto a full reverent Fader in God and oure full gracious Lord, the Bishop of Bathe, Chaunceller of England.

Bisechen full mekely your pore bedemen the Wardeyn and alle his brethren of the Covent of the Ordre of Frere Menours in the cite of London, that it please to your gracious lordeship to conceyve and consider how that oon frer John Olyver was professed in the same Ordre, twyes went oute of the saide ordre, oones in Ireland and another tyme at Lewes : and nowe late in his purpos and entent for to have go to Rome cam to London and there fille syke, in which sykenes the saide frer John sent for maistre Thomas Wynchilsee lowly bisekyng him for to be resceyved agein into the same habite and to lyve and dye in the same covent. And because that oure houses were occupied with the Quene, he lay still there as he didde before in the parissh of Seint Thomas the Apostill, where vij dayes after that he dyde ; the saide maistre Thomas Wynchilsee in the name of all the covent asked of the parson of the same chirche and of Ser Andrew West that pretendyth hym his executour, deliveraunce of the dede body and of his goodes, the which extended to xxviij *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.* And atte the counseillyng of my Lord of London we shuld have had deliveraunce of bothe. And so of the body we have liveraunce and the money aforsaide wrongefully the same ser Andrewe with holdeth from us, not with standyng that before the parson of the saide church he behighte us by accorde y-made bitwene hem and us to have deliverd to us xij marcs, and therto as at that tyme we hilde us content. And such as he seith otherwise avised that we shall have right not therof but if we can gete it by lawe. We as pore men and gretely endetted and being loth to spend on plee, lowely as your pore bedemen in all that we can, bisechen your gracious lordeship to ordeyn due remedie in this case after your full wyse discrecion that we mowe have all that right wille atte the reverence of God and in way of charitee.

IV. WILLIAM CANTELOWE'S MASSES.
27 March, 1460.

THIS is a Notarial Instrument certifying the Agreement made two years before, which was printed in *Grey Friars of London*, pp. 208–11. In itself it does not add anything to that Agreement. But it is of great interest for giving us a list of the Friars present in the Chapter House on this occasion (*see* pp. 74–5 above). From *Chancery Miscellanea*, xx, 7 (9), at P.R.O.

In dei nomine Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat euidenter quod Anno Domini Millesimo Quadragintesimo sexagesimo, Indiccione Octaua, Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri Domini Pii diuina prouidencia pape secundi Anno secundo, mensis Marcii die vicesimo septimo, in domo Capitulari Conuentus Fratrum Minorum Ciuitatis London, in meique Notarii publici subscripti et testium infrascriptorum presencia constituti personaliter Venerabiles et Religiosi viri, Fratres Thomas Radnor, Prouincialis minister ordinis predicti, Willelmus Goddard, ad tunc Magister et Custos, Johannes Kyry, Gardianus eiusdem Conuentus, Willelmus Wolff, Stephanus Raaff, in sacra Theologia professores, Johannes Boosgawyn, Johannes Weston, Willelmus Goddard, Jacobus Wale, Johannes Hoode, Willelmus Carpentir, Willelmus Sergiant, Robertus Yooll, Hermannus de Colonia, Antonius de Colonia, Johannes Gulle, Johannes Litley, Andreas Bauard, Willelmus Smyth, Henricus Whithede, Thomas Pattyn, Johannes Euersham, Willelmus Roser, Johannes Egliston, Johannes Pede, Ricardus Elderden, Willelmus Tholy, Robertus Brown, Johannes Stanley, Willelmus Kemys, Johannes Nicholas, Johannes Billyk, Thomas Bolton, Willelmus Jonson, et Johannes Gylle, fratres ordinis predicti, ad effectum infrascriptum ut asseruerunt capitulariter congregati, et Capitulum siue Conuentum facientes, publice fatebantur et recognouerunt tam communiter quam singillatim se recepisse et habuisse de nobili viro Willelmo Cantelow, Mercero, Ciue et Aldermanno London, ibidem ad tunc coram eis presente, Ducentas libras sterlingorum

in elemosina reparacionis operis ecclesie eorum Conuentualis et supportacione aliorum onerum in eis incumbencium, ac pro tot et tantis gratuitis beneficiis pure et sponte vnanimi eorum consensu Capitulariter, ut prefertur, congregati tunc et ibidem concesserunt pro eis et eorum successoribus quod perpetuis futuris temporibus vna missa cotidie specialiter celebretur et dicetur in ecclesia eorum conuentuali predicta pro animabus Thome Gloucestr, armigeri, et Anne consortis sue, ac animabus predicti Willelmi Cantelow ac Margarete et Elisabeth vxorum suarum, parentum, prolium et benefactorum suorum, et pro maiori parte in illa parte ecclesie predicte vbi corpora predictorum Thome et Anne humata requiescunt, exceptis tribus diebus in Ebdomada maiori que est immediate ante diem pasche: et quod dies Anniuersaria eorundem Thome, Anne, Willelmi, Margarete, et Elisabeth cum exequiis mortuorum et missa cum nota omni anno semel prout pro precipuis benefactoribus dictorum fratrum loci predicti conuentus facere consueuit obseruabitur circa festum sancte Agathe virginis singulis annis imperpetuum. Ac quod cetera omnia et singula facient et obseruabunt, ac facient fideliter obseruari, in quibusdam indenturis de et super premissis et ea consequentibus confectis, sigillis dicti prouincialis ac communi Conuentus domus predicte et prefati Willelmi Cantelow sigillatis, comprehensa et specificata, que quidem Indentura tunc ibidem lecta fuit et publice eisdem declarata: Cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba. Hec Indentura facta inter fratrem Johannem Kyry, etc. [The Indenture is recited as given in *The Grey Friars of London*, pp. 208-11, with a few textual variations, viz., p. 209, line 7, necessariorum nostrorum, line 14, ordinamus, line 36, aperte; p. 210, line 10, de precipuis, lines 23, 24, perfeccionem; p. 211, line 5, peracta.]

Post cuius quidem Indenture lecturam et declaracionem predicti fratres Thomas Radnor, Willelmus Goddard, Johannes Kyry, et ceteri confratres cum eis superius nominati, omnes et singuli specialiter et nomina-

tim interrogati, fide eorum media promiserunt omnia et singula in predicta indentura prescripta et contenta fideliter obseruare et in omnibus perimplere, ac in futurum obseruari et perimpleri facere, quatenus eos tangunt et concernunt, et sic iurauit et promisit quilibet eorundem tunc ibidem. Acta sunt hec omnia et singula prout suprascribuntur et recitantur sub anno domini, Indiccione, pontificatu, mense, die et loco predictis, presentibus tunc et ibidem Nobilibus Viris Galfrido Feldyng, Aldermanno Warde de Faringdon infra vbi situatur domus Fratrum predictorum, Johanne Aleyn, legum doctore, Thoma Vrswyk, Recordatore Ciuitatis London, Rogero Tonge, communi clerico eiusdem Ciuitatis London, et aliis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et ego Robertus Kent, in legibus bacallarius, Cantuariensis diocesis publicus auctoritate apostolica notarius, premissis recognicioni, concessioni, promissioni, et indenture lecture, ceterisque premissis omnibus et singulis, dum sic vt premittitur sub anno domini, indiccione, pontificatu, mense, die et loco predictis agebantur et fiebant, vna cum prenominatis testibus presens interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audiui, per alium scribi feci publicam et in hanc publicam formam redegi signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signaui ac manu propria me hic subscripsi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum.

V. FRIAR ERYK DE VEDICA.
c. 1477.

This document from *Early Chancery Proceedings* 66/397 must, from the fact that the Chancellor was Bishop of Lincoln, be assigned to 1475–1480 (Thomas Rotherham), or 1483–1485 (John Russell). For the reasons stated on p. 72 above the former period is the more likely.

To the right reverent ffader in God the Bysshop of Lincoln, Chaunceler of Englande.

Shewen to youre gode and gracioux lordship youre pore and Contynuell Oratours, James Walle, Warden of the

hows of the Grayfrerys of London, and Eryk de Vedica, ffrere Menour, and obediencer of the same James, whiche Eryk hath sufficiaunt and lawfull auctorite to occupie and exercise the Crafte of Phisik: That where but late one Alice, the wife of one William Stede of London, vynter, a woman of grete age and havyng a grete disease and sikenes of swellyng in her body and also soo grete a disease in her lymmes that a grete parte of the fflessh of her legges was rotyn awey, sent unto the saide Eryk besechyng hym that he wolde come to see her and take her into his cure: And howe be it that whan he had sene her and understode her grete age and jubertous sikenes and soo lying more likly for to die than for to leve, he durst not nor wolde not by his gode wille have medeled with her, yit at her piteous desire and grete instaunce of suche her ffrendes as were abowte her at that tyme he toke upon hym to doo his parte for to ease her as for that disease that was in her body as far as he cowde by his Crafte of Phisik, and avised her to take unto her a surgeon as for that disease that she hadde in her lymmes. And whan he had wayted upon her dayly by the space of v wekes and more mynystryng unto her gode and holsom medycynes and had soo doon his parte unto her that she thowght her self wele amended in her body, she cowde hym grete thancke and gave hym xx *s.* for his labour: ffor the takyng of whiche money the said William entendyng of pure malice for to trouble youre saide suppliauntes hath commensed an accion of trespas ayenst them before one of the Shrevis of London, supposing by his declaracion that they shulde have wrongfully taken awey from hym xxiij *s.* iiij *d.* to his dammage of x marcs, ayens all right and gode conscience. And yit by as moche as they can not preve that the said William commaunded or licenced his saide wife for to geve the saide money to the saide Erik, the same Erik is withoute remedy at the comen lawe, whiche supposeth every receyvyng of the husbondes goodys or money by the handes of his wife withoute his licence or commaundement to be a wrongfull taking awey from hym of the

same. Wherfor your saide suppliauntes mekely beseche your gode and gracious lordship tendrely to considre the premysses and therupon to graunte unto them a writ of Certiorari directed to the Shrives of London commaundyng them to brynge the saide accion and causes therof before the King into his Chauncery at a certeyn day by your saide gode and gracious lordship to be lymytted, there to be examyned, jugged and demed according to verray right and conscience, and they shall be youre bedemen for evermore and pray to God for the gode state and prosperous contynuaunce and encrece of your saide gode and gracious lordship.

Endorsed:

Coram domino Rege in cancellaria sua in Octabis sancti Hillarii proxime futuri.

VI. *Friar Henry of Wodstone and the Jews.* By A. G. Little.

THE Register of the Grey Friars of London (p. 103) notes that Friar Henry of Wodylston was buried "under a stone inscribed with letters formerly legible" in the ambulatory between the Choir and the Altars, and adds that by his efforts all the Jews were finally expelled from England in the time of Edward III.

This Friar Henry is mentioned in an anonymous collection of exempla of the early fourteenth century (MS. Sloane 2478, f. 15b). On 25 July, 1256, a priest named Ralph, being in mortal sin, was celebrating mass for the dead in the Church of S. Mary Magdalene in the suburb of Oxford. As he elevated the Host and raised his eyes he saw descending head downwards from the height a man, who seized the Host in one hand and dealt him a severe blow on the jaw with the other. Ralph fainted, and, when he recovered, sent his confession to a sick priest hard by, who absolved him and instructed him to go to the bishop's penitentiary. "The bishop's penitentiary[1] then was Friar Henry, of the Order of Friars Minor, called of Wodeston, and the said priest (Ralph) was his scholar. The latter asked him to tell this miracle to all faithful Christians out of reverence to the body of Christ without specifying the sin." The story is incorporated in several versions of the *Speculum Laicorum* (MSS. Brit. Museum Add. 17723—where the date is given as 1356—Harl. 665; Bodl. Bodley 474; University College, Oxford, 29), in the *Historia Aurea* of John of Tinmouth (MS. Lambeth 12, f. 205b; *cf.* Bodl. Laud Misc. MS. 389, f. 190, and MS. 524), and in another anonymous collection (MS. Bodley 529, f. 172b).[2]

Thomas of Walsingham, in his *Gesta Abbatum*, i, 400-406, gives a detailed account of "the process of acquisition or restitution of the manor of Childewike" by Roger,

[1] Henry of Lexington was the Bishop of Lincoln.

[2] See *Speculum Laicorum*, ed. J. T. Welter (Paris, 1914), pp. 89–90, 146; *Catalogue of Romances in . . . Brit. Museum*, iii, 406, 408, 514; *Bodl. Quarterly Record*, vol. iii, No. 28 (1920).

twenty-fourth Abbot of St. Albans, 1260-1290. Sir Geoffrey of Childewick, knight, held the manor of Childwick, in Hertfordshire, of St. Albans, and inflicted many injuries on the abbey.[1] As a judgement he became so poor that he borrowed from a Jew more than he could ever repay. He appears as a debtor to the Jews in 1267.[2]

The next move is recorded in the Patent Rolls. On 28 January, 1271, licence was granted, notwithstanding the recent decree of 1269,[3] for Cok, son of Cresseus, Jew of London, to sell to the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans, the chief lord of Geoffrey of Childwyk, the debt of 400*l.* wherein the latter is bound to him ;[4] and on 30 January a grant made by Cok to the Abbot and Convent of St. Albans of a messuage and a carucate of land in

[1] His father was also named Geoffrey, and the two are not clearly distinguished. Geoffrey I is mentioned as justice of assize of mort d'ancestor for Hertfordshire in 1228 (Pat. 12 Hen. III, m. 4*d*, *Cal. P. R.*, p. 216, 217); he had dealings with the Jews (Close, 26 Hen. III, pt. 3, m. 1, 28 Hen. III, m. 2), and disputes with the Abbey of St. Albans about hunting rights in 1240 (Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, iv, 50–54). He seems to have died in 1244 or 1245, as in August 1245 the king pardoned Geoffrey de Childwic 20*s.*, which Geoffrey de Childwik, his father, had been fined in the eyre of justices in Hertfordshire (Close, 29 Hen. III, m. 4). Geoffrey II is still called " Galfridus de Childewik junior " when attached for an offence against the forest laws in 1246–1247 (*Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 105, 31 Hen. III). He was also named Rufus (*Chron. Maj.*, v, 129). Some time before 1250 he married Clarice, sister of John Mansel (*Cal. Pat. R.* 1250, p. 80; Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, v, 129); his wife was " adhuc sterilis " when Matthew Paris wrote. In 1250–1253 he renewed the quarrel with St. Albans, and was successful owing, it was said, to the support of his brother-in-law (*Chron. Maj.*, v, 129, 234; vi, 233, 252; *Hist. Anglorum*, iii, 62; Pat. 37 Hen. III, m. 18*d*). He served in Gascony in 1253 (*Cal. Pat. R.* ad an., p. 231), and in France in 1259 (*ibid.*, p. 55), and was one of the four knights appointed to inquire into grievances for Hertfordshire (not Herefordshire, as in *Cal.*) in 1258 (*ibid.*, p. 648). He appears to have supported the king in the Barons' War (*Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, No. 302; cf. *Cal. Pat. R.* 1264, pp. 324, 329, 330, 333). Besides Childwick and Redburn in Herts., Geoffrey held lands in Derbyshire (Charter R, 33 Hen. III, m. 3).

[2] *Cal. Pat. R.* 1267, p. 123.

[3] *Cf.* Pat. 53 Hen. III, m. 7 (*Cal.*, p. 359).

[4] Pat. 55 Hen. III, m. 22 (*Cal.*, p. 511). On Cok Hagin son of Cresse, *see* Stokes' *Studies in Anglo-Jewish Hist.*, pp. 35–37.

Redburn (Co. Herts.), which Cok had of the gift of Geoffrey of Childewyk, was confirmed by Letters Patent.[1]

It appears from these entries that Geoffrey was still alive in January 1271, but he seems to have died soon afterwards, and before the Abbot had bought out the Jew. For Walsingham continues: Geoffrey, dying, left his brother Henry his heir;[2] Henry transferred all his rights in Childewyk to his younger brother Richard, and Richard fully enfeoffed the Jew with it, "to the disinheritance of our right and the prejudice of the whole kingdom." Abbot Roger, as chief lord, did not permit the Jews to have peaceful seisin; the two sides came to blows; a long and expensive lawsuit ensued, in which the Abbot was successful, in spite of the opposition of Queen Eleanor (who made a claim to the manor)[3] and of many other powerful people, blinded by bribes, fear or favour. "It may indeed be held that God sent his angel to prove our truth. At that very time a Friar Minor named Henry of Wodstone came unexpectedly to our aid . . . and, proving our claims and overthrowing the presumption of our adversaries, reverently and wisely turned the hearts of many to the justice of our cause."

The general question as to the right of the Jews to hold manors, with the incidents of wardship, marriage, advowsons, etc., was, according to the *Liber de antiquis legibus*,[4] raised at this time by a petition from the Jews to the King and Council, and the claim was almost conceded by some of the members of the Council, under the influence of bribes. But a Friar Minor came before the King and Council and argued against the proposal so vigorously and successfully that a statute was made forbidding Jews to own freeholds.

[1] Pat. *ibid.* (*Cal.*, p. 511). *Cf.* Pat. 56 Hen. III, m. 21 (*Cal.*, p. 630).

[2] The sons of Geoffrey (the elder) in 1240 were Geoffrey, William, John, and Richard, according to the writ quoted by Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, iv, p. 50.

[3] *Cf.* Pat. 56 Hen. III, m. 19 (*Cal.*, p. 635). Queen Eleanor in 1275 had a grant of all debts owing to, and goods and chattels of, Cok Hagin (Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 87; Stokes, *Studies in Anglo-Jewish Hist.*, p. 36).

[4] Ed. Stapleton, Camden Soc., 1846, p. 234.

The Council was attended by Richard, King of the Romans, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Worcester and Lichfield and others. The date of the Council is unknown. There was some delay in publishing the new law, owing, it was surmised, to the efforts of the Jews and their supporters. In consequence of this the brothers Giffard, Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester, wrote a strongly-worded letter, dated 7 July, 1271, to Master Richard of Stanes, justiciar, urging him to secure the co-operation of the Chancellor,[1] the justices of the Bench, and the "majores Curiæ," who were more favourably disposed, and to use other means, to get the statute as speedily as possible fully enrolled and published; they warn him that, though some may try to weaken the new statute, the prelates will have no nonsense.[2]

The Giffards, both of whom were closely connected with the Friars Minor, seem to have been moved to take this action by Henry of Wodstone, for they incorporated in their letter the following document, which is preserved in MS. Bodley 91, a thirteenth-century MS., containing (*inter alia*) a number of documents relating to the Barons' War.

(MS. Bodl. 91, fo. 140.)

Contra Judeos per quendam fratrem minorum.

Cum iudei fidei christiane aduersantes, ex sola gracia principum hactenus in regno moram facientes, nitantur ad communes fidelium regni Anglie libertates optinendas de libero tenemento in regno Anglie possidere, et libero tenemento pertinentibus; quod si optinere potuissent, racione liberorum tenementorum fideles in liberis tenementis ipsis infidelibus corporale sacramentum de fidelitate facienda alii fideles ipsis infidelibus homagium facerent, ad ecclesias eciam ad tenementa que iudei haberent pertinentes pre-

[1] Richard de Middleton.

[2] Printed in Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum*, i, p. 402, and *Liber de antiquis legibus*, p. 234. The letter does not appear in the registers of either of the prelates. The glimpse which the story gives into the actual working of the legislative machine is not without interest to the constitutional historian.

sentarent, custodie, maritagia, et exchaeta fidelium ad manus infidelium deuenirent, in assisis, recognicionibus et iuratis ponerentur ratione liberorum tenementorum, et ita expresse communicarent christianis et Christiani iudeis : quod manifeste est contra sacrosanctas christiane legis et fidei sanxiones. Possent etiam pecunia mediante, sicut et liberum tenementum, ita et baronias,[1] que inmediate de domino Rege tenentur, futuris temporibus occupare. Et quia per hec et huiusmodi regno prorsus aduersantia et paulisper inualescencia contra fidem christianam non solum regno Anglie set omnibus christianorum regnis macula generari posset inexpurgabilis, a modo prouisum est et concessum quod nullus Judeus quocumque titulo, carta, dono, seu alio modo qualicunque, feodum habeat uel teneat, nec[2] liberum tenementum, nec redditum, nec domum aliquam christianis locandam aut Judeis, nisi solum modo domum illam quam personaliter inhabitant. Nec de cetero placitet per breuia secundum legem Anglie christianis prouisa de aliquibus supradictis. Nec breuia Judeis concedantur per cancelariam de supradictis, et si fuerint concessa, pro nullis habeantur.

This document is not an excerpt from the letter, but rather of the nature of a first draft. Thus the clumsy phrase of the document " ad ecclesias eciam ad tenementa que Judei haberent pertinentes presentarent " appears in the letter[3] in the neater form " ad ecclesias ratione tenementorum judei etiam presentarent." The document was probably either a suggested draft for the statute or a summary of the arguments used before the Council with a statement of the Council's decision—in either case drawn up by Friar Henry, and in substance adopted by the bishops in their letter.

The protest of the Giffards was successful : the statute was issued to all the sheriffs by Letters Patent dated 25 July, 1271 (Pat. 55 Hen. III, m. 10*d*; printed in Rymer (Rec. Ed.), 1, i, p. 489).

Friar Henry of Wodstone makes a last appearance fourteen years later at the Chapter at Cambridge. The letter printed below is written in a rather rough, unprofessional hand, and is clearly Wodstone's autograph,

[1] F. 140v. [2] MS. uero.

[3] In the version in the *Liber de antiquis legibus*. The passage is omitted in Walsingham's version.

while the endorsement is in the elegant hand of a professional scribe. Though the only date given is the eve of Holy Cross day (13 September), the reference to the Chapter at Cambridge and the election of a minister leave no doubt that the year is 1285. It is known that William of Gainsborough became minister in this year, and we now have evidence that he was elected in the Provincial Chapter at Cambridge. The letter is interesting as another original document emanating from a Provincial Chapter—the third printed in this volume.[1] It is addressed to John of Kirkby, the treasurer, and conveys the thanks of the Chapter for a gift of 100*s.* for one day's expenses, which had been handed to the proctors of the Friars Minor. John of Kirkby is here described as Archdeacon of Stafford—an unusual, if not unique, designation (the usual one is Archdeacon of Coventry), though he was already Bishop-elect of Ely, and was ordained priest and consecrated Bishop by Peckham about a week later.

It is not clear what Wodstone's position in the Chapter was. Though undertaking some of the functions of the newly-elected provincial before the latter entered on his duties, he does not appear to have been vicar. William of Gainsborough himself was addressed by Bishop Giffard of Worcester as "Vicar of the Order of Minors," on 1 August, 1285.[2] "Frater Alanus fratrum minorum Anglicane provincie vicarius" wrote to the King about the arrest of an apostate on 8 September, 1285: this was probably the day on which the Chapter met at Cambridge, but the vicar's letter is dated at Winchester.[3] Again, on 9 September, 1285, the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, addressed a letter "Vicario fratrum minorum in Anglia et diffinitoribus in capitulo Grantebreg, constitutis."[4] It may be noted that the General Constitutions of the Order contemplate three

[1] *See* pp. 5–7 above.

[2] Worc. Ep. Reg. Godf. Giffard, ed. Bund, p. 263.

[3] P.R.O. Chancery Warrants, file 1765, No. 11. Adam of Preston was Gainsborough's vicar in 1288 (*ibid.*, No. 12).

[4] Wilkins' *Concilia*, ii, p. 122.

kinds of provincial vicars according to circumstances, namely, "vicarius provincialis ministri," "vicarius a provinciali capitulo institutus," and "vicarius auctoritate generalis ministri." [1]

[P.R.O. *Ancient Correspondence*, viii, 140.]

Amantissimo in Christo domino J. de Kirkeby archidiacono Stafford' suus Frater H. de Wodeston', successus properos et felices uite presentis pariter et future. Nouerit dominacio uestra, dilectum in Christo W. le Sauvage seruientem vestrum detulisse et satisfecisse procuratoribus fratrum in capitulo Cantebrig' congregatorum, in Centum solidis pro necessariis diei vnius ; pro quibus simul cum aliis beneficiis multimodis in suis negociis, pro se et amicis ordinis, in curia exhibitis et adhuc si placet exhibendis, uobis totum regraciatur capitulum ex affectu nomenque vestrum inter alios ordinis speciales presentis capituli prouisores, ad singulos in scriptis tocius conuentus prouincie destinatur, pro spiritualibus ordinis beneficiis uobis uberius per loca singula rependendis ; prout annuente domino uobis uoce uiua personaliter reserabo. Et quia electum habemus qui se de officio ministracionis non intromittit iccirco pro persone uestre noticia vestre serenitati scribo pro omnibus in hac parte. Semper ualete in domino Jesu Christo. Dat' in vigilia sancte crucis.

[*Endorsed*] Domino Johanni de Kirkeby.

[1] *Archiv f. Lit. u. Kirch. Gesch.*, vi, pp. 128, 134.

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